THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC

QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XLII.—JANUARY, 1917—NO. 165

A LOVE OF THE LITURGY.

ALL of us lead an intellectual life, more or less deep, more or less extended. Novel or news of the day, editorial or essay, it is safe to assume, absorb a certain amount of our time and interest. Now in this daily enjoyment of mental pleasures, how many of us ever give a thought to the beauties contained in the liturgy of the Church? Francis Thompson tells us that "Ritual is poetry addressed to the eye." Many people, especially if they had just attended some great function of public worship, worthily carried out, would unhesitatingly subscribe to this sentiment. Most of us are sensitive to the music of the chanted portions of the Mass or of some great hymn, such as the Te Deum, especially when well rendered on a noble organ in its appropriate setting of cathedral walls. But how many realize that there is another beauty, that of the written word, voicing every emotion of the heart, every petition the creature should make to his Creator in the course of the changing year?

Let us open the Missal at the Mass for Easter Sunday, the greatest feast the Church celebrates, mindful as she is of the words of St. Paul, "If Christ be not risen again, your faith is vain." What do we find selected from the Scriptures as the appropriate verse for the gradual of the great solemnity? "This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. Give praise to

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the Lord, for He is good: for His mercy endureth for ever. Alleluia, alleluia. Christ our Passover is sacrificed." To the words of King David are added the Alleluia, the Jewish cry of joyful triumph, then from the New Testament the fact that calls forth the chant of thanksgiving, "Christ our Passover is sacrificed." Are not the selections well chosen? Read the secret for the same feast: "Receive, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the offerings of Thine exulting Church; and having given her cause for so great a joy, grant her, as fruit perpetual gladness." Could the spirit of the day be better shown? In fact, if we look over the prayers assigned to the various seasons, we cannot fail to be struck with the appropriateness of each of them; always the main thought of the day emphasized, then its relation to the effect upon ourselves. Those who from the earliest days have been composing these prayers must have been steeped in the spiritual life, in knowledge of the Bible.

In the renaissance of Catholic literature taking place in our days we find many writers who appreciate this beauty to the full and who indeed owe to their knowledge of the liturgy much of their poetic imagery. In this connection the mind naturally reverts to Francis Thompson. Not only does the action of the Mass and other liturgical services of the Church inspire some of his most beautiful lines, to the thought underlying the prayers is due much of his best and strongest writing, in prose as well as in verse. He seems to have been saturated in its lore, and it comes freely and maturally to his mind as he writes his views of men or life. Whether it is his inner life as scholar or poet, nature as he saw her in lovely rural England, or the sordid setting of his early sufferings in London slums, he never fails to connect it all with the Man-God, often in the words consecrated by centuries of use in His Tabernacle. We know from what he tells us in one of his shorter poems that it was as natural and easy to picture Christ on the Thames as on Gennesareth. In "A Corymbus for Autumn" he says:

"All nature sacerdotal seems, and thou.
The calm hour strikes on yon golden gong,
In tones of floating and mellow light
A spreading summons to even-song:
See how there
The cowled night
Kneels on the Eastern sanctuary stair."

And again in the "Orient Ode":

"Lo, in the sanctuaried East,
Day, a dedicated priest

In all his robes pontifical exprest,
  Lifteth slowly, lifteth sweetly,
From out its Orient tabernacle drawn,
  Yon orbed sacrament confest
Which sprinkles benediction through the dawn;
  And when the grave procession's ceased,
The earth with due illustrious rite
  Blessed—ere the frail fingers featly
Of twilight, violet-cassocked acolyte
  His sacerdotal stoles unvest—
Sets, for high close of the mysterious feast,
  The sun in august exposition meetly
Within the flaming monstrance of the West.
  O salutaris hostia,
Quae coeli pandis ostium!"

Monsignor Benson had the poet's feeling for the beauty of action and sound and word to be found in the services of the Church. In "By What Authority" we have that wonderful description of "the glorious Mass of Easter Day." The passage is too long to quote, but let us read the introduction to the description of the Credo: "So from step to step the liturgy moved on with its sonorous and exultant tramp, and the crowding thoughts forgot themselves and watched as the splendid heralds went by; the triumphant trumpets of 'Gloria in excelsis' had long died away; the proclamation of the names and titles of the Prince had been made. . . . Then His first achievement had been declared; 'Per quem omnia facta sunt.' And the wonderful ending: 'Then was recounted the tale of those victories that looked so bitterly like failures, and the people held their breath and whispered it, too; then in rising step after step His last conquests were told; how the Black Knight was overthrown, his castle stormed and his prison burst, and the story of the triumph of the return and of the Coronation and the Enthronement at the Father's Right Hand on High.'" Such a vision is vouchsafed to but few of us as we rise to profess our faith at the Credo; but a faint shadow of it might be perceived if we would really let the mind dwell on the picture ever so little.

Réné Bazin, too, is among those who feel the power of the liturgy. In "The Barrier" he shows us Marie at prayer in the Trinità at Rome. She has been through a period of great struggle and her heart and soul are sore. He tells us "She prayed, she read the liturgical prayers for the feast of the day . . . and she stopped for a long time at these words of the Gradual: 'The eyes of all hope in Thee, O Lord: and Thou givest them meet in due season.'

. . . What a profound knowledge of souls he had who put them there for all centuries, for times past and for those to come, the answer that even happiness needs since it asks for a continuance of favors."

It sometimes happens that those outside the fold have a greater appreciation than ourselves of the beauties of many of the prayers of the Church, even those not strictly speaking liturgical. A non-Catholic who was asked not long ago what he considered the most beautiful poem he knew, answered, "The Litany of the Blessed Virgin!" Had he been acquainted with our liturgical prayers, not only such parts of the Mass as we are considering, but those used on other solemn occasions, as, for example, in the blessing of the new fire and of the water on Holy Saturday, he would probably have found a larger field for his admiration. Secular literature has long made use of the "Nunc Dimittis" to touch our hearts in its scenes of pathos; but centuries before liturgical scholars had seen its beauty and it was incorporated in the Mass for the feast of the Purification, where it occurs twice—in the blessing of the candles and again as the "tract" of the day. It forms a part of other Masses also.

No allusion is here made to the harmony between the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and feast days, nor of the great hymns and sequences of the Church. Any adequate account of these last would fill a volume in itself, but the subject has been frequently treated and by recent writers. This article proposes to deal only with the changeable portions of the Mass, to call attention to the care with which the texts of Holy Scripture are chosen and the beauty and appropriateness with which the prayers are composed to suit the feast. They are models of condensed thought and will well repay the few minutes spent in considering them. A reasonable use of them might give us the stimulus of variety, to many so necessary an element in meditation or prayer. Are we familiar, for instance, with any of the Collects—those collections of all the petitions we might appropriately make for the needs of our own lives as well as for those of others near and dear to us? Do we know what the Gradual is and how it got its name? Does the logical sequence of thought binding together the Introit, the Secret, the Communion verse, the Postcommunion prayers appeal to our minds?

See how beautifully this group of prayers hinges together in the Mass for Christmas Eve. The Introit begins—and the same words from the book of Exodus are repeated in the Gradual: "This day you shall know that the Lord will come and save us: and in the morning you shall see His glory." The "Prayer" or Collect

as we generally call it is as follows: "O God, Who year by year makest us to look forward in joy of heart to the festival of the Birth of Thine only begotten Son, grant that, even as we now gladly welcome Him for our Redeemer, so we may trustfully go forth to meet Him when He shall one day return as our Judge." The Offertory has these words from the twenty-third Psalm: "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in." The prophet of the Nativity is called upon for the Communion verse: "The glory of the Lord shall be revealed; and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God." The note of expectation and hope struck in the Introit is continued with increasing vigor in the Offertory and the Communion verses, while the Postcommunion prayer binds these thoughts naturally centering around the Nativity with a practical petition for its application to ourselves: "Vouchsafe unto us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to begin a new life with this festival of the Nativity of Thine only begotten Son, Who, in these mysteries, feeds us with the meat and drink of that life which is eternal."

The same familiarity with Holy Writ is shown by the framers of the Masses for Christmas Day. With what care they seem to have chosen the texts that emphasize the spirit of joy at the coming of the Saviour and to have written the prayers that correspond so well. Read, for instance, the Postcommunion for the first or midnight Mass: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, that we who, in joy of heart, keep with threefold celebration of the holy Mysteries, the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, may, by worthiness of life, deserve to rejoice with Him for evermore." That easy transition of the mind from natural to spiritual phenomena so characteristic of the writers of the Middle Ages is noticeable in those who compiled these early liturgies. Here, for instance, the reference to the Light of the World is illustrated in the Introit of the second Mass, at break of day: "A light shall shine upon us this day, for the Lord is born to us; and He shall be called Wonderful, God, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the world to come." How naturally the Collect continues the idea: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O Lord, that we, upon whom is poured forth the new light of Thy Word made flesh, may show forth in our actions that which by faith shineth in our minds." The Gradual presents the same thought in these words: "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; the Lord is God and He hath shone upon us."

Notice the sequence of thought in the Mass for the feast of the Holy Innocents. In the Introit the compiler gives us a verse from the eighth Psalm: "Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings, O

God, Thou hast perfected praise because of Thy enemies." Then we have the prayer composed in the same spirit: "O God, Whose praise the Innocent Martyrs did this day, not by speaking, but by dying, confess, mortify in us all the evils of vice; that Thy Faith, which our tongues profess, our lives also may by their actions confess." The Communion verse is perhaps the saddest with a purely human sadness to be found in Scripture: "A voice in Rama was heard, lamentation and mourning; Rachel bewailing her children, and would not be comforted because they are not." To the beauty of these prayers add a remembrance of what art has done for the subject; think of the lovely tiny martyrs as Ghirlandaio pictured them in the "Innocenti" in Florence. How close one comes to them and to that mediæval spirit that could evolve so beautiful a name for a foundling asylum as the "Hospital for the Innocent!"

Among the "Occasional Prayers" to be found in the Missal, the same human tenderness can be observed in the Collect, Secret and Postcommunion for "our friends and those dear to us." There is the Postcommunion to be recited when the Mass is offered for such an intention: "Having tasted of Thy divine mysteries, O Lord, we beseech Thee that this saving sacrifice may likewise avail to assure prosperity and peace to them, for love of whom we have offered it up to Thy divine majesty." Have we ever read the Mass for the sick? In his "Sacramentary," the precursor of our "missal" of to-day, Pope Gelasius put together those beautiful petitions for the restoration to health of a loved one. He wrote them more than fourteen hundred years ago, yet it would hardly be possible to improve on them to-day. In the Secret he prays: "O God, at a sign from Whom the moments of our life slip by, receive the prayers and offerings of Thy servants who are sick, and upon whom we implore Thee to have mercy; and may we, who now fear for them because in danger, be gladdened by their return to health." And in the Postcommunion: "O God, the true support of man in his weakness, show forth in these Thy servants, who are sick, how mighty is the succor Thou canst give; and may it soon be theirs, in virtue of that same strong and merciful help of Thine, to come, restored to health, to worship Thee with us in Thy holy church." There is another set of prayers for those near to death from which we copy the Collect: "Almighty and merciful God, Who upon mankind hast bestowed both the means of salvation and the gift of eternal life, look down with favor upon Thy servant who is sick unto death, and cherish the soul which Thou hast created; so that in the hour of his going forth he may be found worthy to be presented by the hand of Thy holy Angels, spotless from sin to Thee, his Creator." How natural that there should

be a "Mass for Pilgrims and Travelers;" here the Secret ends with this petition, "that it may be given to us to rejoice in their having, by Thy merciful help, both gained the object of their journey and safely returned therefrom." Examples might be multiplied to show how almost every condition and circumstance of life are remembered by those who, as the Church grew, contributed their share to her liturgy.

Nor are those who have passed into life eternal forgotten. As a natural consequence of that threefold membership of the Church —universal indeed in so wide a sense—we find a Collect, a Secret and a Postcommunion prayer in which the living and the dead are linked together in her liturgy as they are in our hearts. How comprehensive is the Secret. "O God, to whom only is known the number of the elect to be placed in everlasting bliss, grant, we beseech Thee, that by the intercession of all Thy Saints, the Book of blessed predestination may ever retain the names both of all those whom we have had commended to our prayers and of all the faithful in general."

From early ages there has been a commemoration of "All the Faithful Departed," though it was not until the close of the tenth century that the feast of All Souls' Day was fixed for the day following All Saints. In this Mass there are several Collects, which vary to suit the condition of the persons prayed for. The one "for all the faithful departed" is the prayer so familiar to us all: "O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the Faithful, grant unto the souls of Thy servants and handmaids the remission of all their sins; that through our pious supplications they may obtain that pardon which they have always desired." A beautiful prayer that we might with profit make equally familiar is "for those who rest in the Churchyard:" "O God, of whose mercy it is that the souls of Thy faithful people do rest in peace, graciously grant unto Thy servants and handmaids and unto all that here and everywhere rest in Christ the forgiveness of their sins; that absolved from every offense, they may everlastingly rejoice with Thee." Notice the wide charity that remembers those that "everywhere rest in Christ," though the prayer is specifically for those of one parish only.

The Introit and Gradual, which are the same in all Masses for the dead, begin with the petition so well known to us all: "Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord; and let perpetual light shine upon them." The tract, after a petition for absolution for all the faithful departed, begs that they may "enjoy the bliss of everlasting light." The sequence is the "Dies Irae," which has won the praise of men of all faiths and ages since Thomas of Celano first added it to the

intellectual and spiritual treasures of the Church. The average modern mind is probably not so deeply in sympathy with its solemn grandeur as the more contemplative spirit of the thirteenth century, which produced it. Goethe, however, used it in Faust and Scott in "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," and so recent a critic as Professor Saintsbury calls it "the greatest of all hymns and one of the greatest of all poems."

The Offertory emphasizes the promise of life eternal as found in the Old Testament: "O Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of hell and from the deep pit; deliver them from the jaws of the lion, lest they fall into darkness and the black gulf swallow them up. Rather, let Thy standard-bearer, blessed Michael, lead them into that holy light, which of old Thou didst promise to Abraham and to his seed. Behold, O Lord, we offer Thee this sacrifice of prayer and praise; do Thou receive it on behalf of the souls of those whose memory we this day recall; make them, O Lord, to pass from death unto life: the which of old Thou didst promise to Abraham and to his seed." The Postcommunion repeats part of the introit and gradual after this introductory prayer: "May light everlasting shine upon them, O Lord: for ever with Thy Saints, because Thou art gracious." It is quite remarkable how the thoughts of light and rest dominate these prayers, even a casual reading of them will show the recurrence of the idea, while we have the opposite picture shown in the offertory just quoted. The final prayer, to be said at a burial as the body is being borne out of the church, seems worthy of being memorized: "Into Paradise may the Angels lead thee; at thy coming, may the Martyrs receive thee and bring thee into the holy city of Jerusalem. May the choir of angels receive thee, and with Lazarus, himself once poor, mayest thou have everlasting rest."

Sometimes when we are unable to fix our thoughts on what we would like to recommend to the "Giver of all good gifts," these prayers from the storehouse of the Church, written by those who, mayhap, thought more deeply than ourselves, might voice our own half-formed aspirations or suggest others that might be better.

A recent writer in the *Catholic World*, Father Cuthbert, O. S. F. C., in words for which we should be grateful tells us of "the moral harm done by literature which is weak in intelligent understanding of the actual experience of life or in personal conviction." He says that "the results are that there has been a weakening of character amongst the reading public at large; whilst among those who are attracted to stronger mental fare there has been a widespread revolt against the hitherto accepted Christian life." Per-

haps this is true in a way of our prayers; it may be that they are weak in intelligent understanding and that they would be strengthened by a judicious use of the liturgy. That Huysmans realized the value of the liturgical prayers we may gather from his remarkable book, "The Cathedral." He complains that he is so often unable to pray in the terms of devotion generally found in prayer books; then he turns to the prayers of the liturgy. It may be, too, that many of us could follow his example and find it a successful means of keeping our thoughts from straying off to secular fields. If we reflect a little on the inspired words of the Scriptures to be found in the Mass or those of so great an intellect as St. Thomas Aquinas, who composed the prayers for the Mass of Corpus Christi, we might find our own thoughts growing less unworthy of that Uncreated Intellect on which we sometimes so feebly try to fix them.

Though not strictly germane to the subject, a passing allusion to certain practices in connection with ritual may be noticed as helping to emphasize the fact that every act, however trivial, has an idea back of it. The practice, for instance, of veiling crosses and stations on Passion Sunday had its inception in the closing words of the Gospel of the day, where we are told that "Jesus hid Himself and went out of the temple." In view of the indulgence granted by Pope Pius X. for looking at the Host at the moment of the elevation, reciting at the same time the ejaculation, "My Lord and My God," it may be interesting to note the importance given to this act during the Middle Ages. It was quite a common custom in England, for instance, to speak of attendance at Mass as "Seeing God." In the "Lay Folks' Mass Book," a well-known prayer book in rhyme for the laity written in the thirteenth century, but popular for long after, we find this verse:

"Look Paternoster thou be saying
Till the chalice he be signing:
Then the time is near of Sacring—
A little bell men used to ring—
Then shalt thou do reverence
To Jesus Christ's own presence,
That may loose all sinful bands.
Kneel and hold up both thy hands,
And so the Elevation do thou behold:
For that is He that Judas sold.
. . . . . .
That same is He thou lookst upon."

Similar allusions are met with in other early books of devotion.

We see, then, that the Holy Father was not introducing a novelty, but merely encouraging the revival of an old custom, which, with time, had become less general.

Another beautiful custom in English parish churches before the sixteenth century was the recital at Mass of the "Bidding Prayer," in which the needs not of the sick alone, but of all the groups that go to make up a congregation are presented in a very comprehensive prayer. As the author of "The Mass and Its Folklore" says, "it is so eminently Christian and Catholic that it seems a pity it has fallen into disuse since the Reformation." Perhaps it would find favor in a book of private devotions. Apropos of old customs, many Catholics feel that if the entire congregation, and not the clerk alone, would make the responses at the various times when the officiating priest turns to the congregation, addressing them directly, that a genuine "Habemus ad Dominum" might follow the "Sursum Corda" of the celebrant. Any one who has heard a group of thousands of pilgrims chanting the "Credo" in the plaza before the great basilica at Lourdes, or the vast body of men that fills the Cathedral of Notre Dame, in Paris, during the Lenten conferences, alternating with the sanctuary choir in chanting "a capella," that solemn profession of faith would doubtless be so much impressed as to wish to see the custom spread to our own country.

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THE INNER HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD VI.

MUCH time and energy have been spent on the history of the Reformation during the reign of Edward VI., but what seems to me a really valuable aspect of it has been superficially treated by historians. The early lives of the people have too largely been overlooked, and thus our conception of the history has been narrowed. It is my object in this essay to refer to two important aspects of parish life. Firstly, the fate that befell the details of Catholic piety, and secondly, the general morals of the age. The evidence which I shall bring forward has never been completely worked in either of these connections. Space will forbid me going into a complete view of these matters, but I think sufficient light will be thrown on them to make the complicated history of the reign clearer to students and to general readers. There are many other aspects to which I hope, if possible, to refer to in later numbers of this review.

I.

First, then, we shall consider what we may call, for want of a better name, the details of Catholic practice. It is hardly necessary to point out how large a place details may occupy in the allegious composition of an individual. In themselves they have no intrinsic value, but they will fulfill an important function when they have behind them certain authority, antiquity and associations. It is also a well-known fact in history that when change, either ecclesiastical or politcal, has touched such details it has cut very deeply into the hearts of a people, because it has touched the bone and sinew of every-day religious life. It has often cut away the very things which constantly arrest religious attention, arouse the religious memory and appeal to religious obligation. These details are perpetual witnesses to the unseen. They occupy in the religious sphere a position analogous to the ever present details of law and order in the civil sphere. When, in the latter, these disappear or are obscured, there frequently arises a lack of confidence in the system of which they were a part. This is equally true in the religious sphere. A custom the less in religion may not in itself be any more important than a policeman the less in a certain area. But when custom after custom is destroyed, the religion to which they belong soon loses ground, just as the removal of an entire police system would discredit the civil administration responsible. When therefore, the Edwardian Reformers began their at-

tack on the details of Catholic piety, they began one of their most subtle attacks. They cut out of every-day life customs and symbolism which authority had provided for the help of human frailty. We shall now consider these in some detail.

Henry VIII. in 1538 silenced the Angelus bell, which had been rung in England in one form or another from the fourteenth century, because "it had been brought in and begun by the pretense of the Bishop of Rome's pardon."[1] The Council of Edward VI. enforced this order in 1547 and extended it to all bells "except one bell in convenient time to be rung before the sermon."[2] Thus the sacring bell was silenced along with the Angelus bell, which had kept constantly before the people the mysteries of their worship and redemption. These new orders were rigidly enforced. Cranmer silenced the sacring bell in every parish in England south of Hull in 1548,[3] and before very long the custom became a memory of bygone days. Foreign visitors soon noticed that both bells had become silent in England.

The use of holy water dated from time immemorial. It was solemnly blessed before the parochial Mass every Sunday in every parish in the land. It stood in every parish church and young and old, saint and sinner, shared in its symbolism. In addition, the parish clerk, called from this office the aquae bajulus, carried round holy water to the homes of the people every week. The Government of Edward VI. found these customs in full use. "The Ten Articles" of 1536 permitted the use of holy water as one of the "good and laudable things to put us in memory of what they signify."[4] When there was further reform in the air, a royal proclamation of 1539[5] ordered the clergy to preach against any superstitious use of holy water, and to declare to their parishoners every Sunday that "it was sprinkled in remembrance of baptism and of the sprinkling of the Blood of Christ." The official parochial visitors in 1547 cautiously glanced at the custom "of the people casting holy water upon their beds,"[6] and even went so far as to order the clergy to teach that no one should condemn it, being "a laudable ceremony of the Church, by the King commanded to be observed and as yet not abrogated." No other reference was made to it in these royal orders of 1547, but the "homilies" which these same royal orders provided for regular reading from the parochial pulpits actually condemned holy water! However, this royal con-

[1] Henrician Injunctions for 1538.
[2] Edwardian Injunctions for 1547.
[3] Cranmer MS., Register, 1548.
[4] Wilkins, "Concilia," III., 822.
[5] Ibid., 842.
[6] Bonner MS., Register.

demnation does not for the moment seem to have had much or at least uniform weight, as we have an excellent example of an order given by six of these parochial visitors in behalf of the Crown to the deanery of Doncaster in 1548, and there is every probability that this order was applied to the parishes of England north of Hull: "You shall every Sunday at the time of your going about the church with holy water into three or four places where most audience and a plenty of people is, say distinctly and plainly that your parishoners may well hear and perceive the same these words, 'Remember Christ's Blood-shedding, by the which most holy sprinkling of all your sins you have free pardon.' "[7] However, these same orders abrogated the custom of holy water being carried round to the houses by the parish clerk. His official visits were now only required in connection with poor relief. The Government of Edward VI. did not, on the other hand, delay uniform reform for very long. An order in council early in 1549 completely abolished the use of holy water.[8] Henceforth its use was generally condemned, while the holy water stocks were destroyed in the churches and the vessels for carrying it about suffered a like fate. This prohibition was part of an official system which developed as the reign advanced, and with holy water a really valuable piece of symbolism disappeared from the churches and homes of England. Ridley suppressed it in the parishes of Essex, Middlesex, Surrey and Kent in 1550.[9] Bulkeley swept it from North Wales in the following year.[10] Hooper in 1552 carried out drastic measures against it in Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester and Stafford.[11] And we have sufficient evidence that it disappeared almost universally from a proclamation of Queen Mary's in December, 1553, ordering it to be generally restored.[12]

The use of holy bread was another custom dating back many centuries. The "holy loaf" was blessed in the church at the conclusion of the parochial Mass every Sunday. Cut into slices, it was distributed to the people, who came up into the chancel, knelt and received it. It was provided sometimes by the parish gilds, sometimes by a parochial fund, sometimes by a collection in church, and frequently the families of the parish undertook to provide it in turn, as is customary at present in places where the custom survives in Europe. It was "allowed" by Henry VIII.[13] as one of the

[7] York MSS. for Doncaster, 1548.
[8] Cardwell, Doc. Hun., I., No. vii.
[9] Ridley MS., Register, 1550.
[10] Bulkeley MS., Register, 1550.
[11] Hooper's Remains, II. (1532).
[12] Machyn, Diary, 50.
[13] Wilkins, op. cit.

praiseworthy practices, of which as yet he did not disapprove, "to remind men of the housel or Eucharist which in the beginning of the Christian Church was received more often than now, and in sign of unity, for as the bread is made of many grains, so are all Christian men one body in Christ." The parochial orders of 1547 noted "the custom of hearing about holy bread" and included it under the same description as holy water without further reference. The "Homily of Good Works," however, condemned it, but once more without general success. In Doncaster, if not in the entire north of England, the custom survived in 1548, when we find it distributed with these words:

> "Of Christ's Body this is a token,
> Which on the Cross for our sins was broken.
> Wherefore of His Death if you will be partakers,
> Of vice and sin you must be forsakers."

But holy bread was generally condemned by an order in council late in 1548, and from that point on efforts were made throughout the parishes to destroy uniformly the custom. Ridley in May, 1550, ordered no one to use it under penalties, and he also asked if there were any in his diocese who were accustomed to bless it, thus witnessing to the presence of priests secretly in and around London. We are not in this essay concerned with these clergy who held fast to the faith, and evidence is strong that, in spite of them, the custom disappeared through the successful energies of Edward VI.'s officials, ecclesiastical and civil. It is interesting to note that Bonner when he visited London Diocese at the beginning of Mary's reign found it necessary to order his clergy to renew the custom and, which is very noteworthy, to explain it most carefully to the people.[14] Finally, it may be noted that "The First Prayer Book" of 1549 took it for granted that the custom abrogated by the government in the previous year had disappeared, for it ordered the parishioners to offer money every Sunday towards the provision of bread and wine for the communion, "as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf."

A like history is connected with holy ashes. They were approved at the first outset of the Reformation in England. The royal officials did not deal with them in 1547 and the earliest reference for the reign of Edward VI. is found in a question addressed to every parish clergyman in two-thirds of the parishes of England in 1548: "Whether they hallowed and delivered to the people ashes upon Ash Wednesday last."[15] But even a custom so intimately con-

[14] London MS., Register, 1553.
[15] Cranmer MS., Register, 1548.

nected with an event over which the Reformers at least had no control was not destined to remain. Holy ashes received the unequivocal condemnation of the Edward Government in 1549,[16] and the custom disappeared until restored for the kingdom by Queen Mary.[17]

Palms on Palm Sunday had been in use in England from the earliest days of Christianity. Sprigs of willow or yew were blessed and carried in procession as far back as Christian memory could go in England.[18] Henry had not interfered with the custom, but ordered it to be explained each Palm Sunday to the people. Edward's early dealings merely glanced at the making "of crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday in time of reading of the Passion,"[19] but, as usual, the officials who carried out the earliest orders spoke of superstition and abuse. This general "fear" had the customary result. Palms were forbidden by the diligent government in 1548. Archbishop Cranmer soon fell into line. Indeed, it is interesting to note that in Henry's reign he had begun to consider suggestions for "further reform" in connection with the details of Catholic practice.

Another custom—that of using the Rosary—deserves special mention, because since England had been specially dedicated to Our Lady, the use of the Rosary was widespread; indeed, it is proved beyond doubt that it was the customary form of private devotion. The general official orders for 1547[20] attacked "praying upon beads" as one "of those superstitious practices which not only have no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise, great threat and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offenses, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth His honor and glory." These orders did not categorically forbid the use of the Rosary, and so far I have been unable to find any official condemnation by the Privy Council, unless this was implied by the general prohibition of invocation of the Saints[21] by act of Parliament. On the other hand, it is quite common to find the use of rosaries forbidden by the new episcopate. In 1549 Bishop Ridley ordered "that none be suffered to pray upon beads, and so the people to be diligently admonished."[22] This order evidently refers to the use of rosaries in church alone, for the order adds,

[16] Cardwell, op. cit., No. viii.
[17] Wridthesley, Diary, 1553.
[18] Rock Church of Our Fathers, IV., 78, 264.
[19] Kennedy, Visitation Documents, p. 126.
[20] Kennedy, op. cit.
[21] Edward VI., c. x., 5.
[22] Ridley MS., Register, 1549.

"and such as will not be admonished to be put forth." Later on, however, there is a more general order, and he definitely in 1550 prohibited "all praying upon beads." Hooper, Bishop of the vast Diocese of Gloucester, Worcester, went much further than his confrére.[23] He caused a general search to be made in every house in every parish for rosaries, and he ordered his church wardens to see that those who possessed them destroyed them, and in the event of disobedience, to apprehend the guilty for punishment. I can find no civil authority behind all this, but it is clear that it was based on the general will of the government. And it is interesting to note that here is the beginning of that inquisition into the private life and homes of the people which Queen Elizabeth reduced to a fine art.

It would be possible to continue a like history for almost every detail of Catholic piety. Nothing survived. Nothing escaped notice. I believe that these attacks which I have just outlined did more than anything else to advance the changes under Edward VI. The evidence, with which I could fill a good sized volume, is overwhelming to prove that the government's policy was wholesale from the very beginning, and not a gradual process of reform, as we have been taught for three centuries. Nor is this evidence merely local. Among the diocesan and parish manuscripts in every county in England there exists material of real value which goes to show that the whole movement was well thought out and well planned, and that church services and theological reform did not blind the officials to the fact that the practices hallowed by generations in the daily lives of the people must be abrogated with a heavy hand if the new movement was to have any hope of success.

A natural result followed—a result to which I cannot just now refer, as I find that I have exceeded my space—antinomianism became rampant. The episcopate was disgraced with moral scandals. Latimer found that "adultery, lechery and divorce were now mere trifles." Vice and immorality of the grossest kind stalked the land. Indeed, the country, among the best Reformers themselves, became a byword for evil living. I hope in another article to continue this subject. Meanwhile I would appeal to our students of sixteenth century history to get down to work at the manuscripts of diocesan and parish life. Till they have been corrected and published, our sixteenth century history must remain a most inadequate and limited performance.

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[23] Remains, op. cit.

A CRUX OF THE "IMITATION."

Beatae aures quae venas divini susurri suscipiunt. . .
—De Imit. Christi, III., i.. 1.

Μακάρια τὰ ὦτα, τὰ μὲν τὰς φλέβας τοῦ θείου ψιθυρίσματος ἐνδεχόμενα . . .
—Tr. of George Mayr, S. J. (1615).

Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper. . . .
—Tr. of Bishop Challoner (1737).

I.

"AFTER the Gospel, the 'Imitation' undoubtedly is the book that reflects with the greatest perfection the light which Jesus Christ brought us down from heaven. It eminently contains the Christian philosophy. . . . Nowhere else do we find the same doctrine inculcated with a more persuasive eloquence and simplicity than in the unpretending little volume that all of us have a hundred times perused."

In paying this deserved tribute[1] to the golden book of Thomas à Kempis, Father Thébaud also paid perhaps an undeserved tribute to his readers. Had they indeed—all of them—read it through a hundred times? Many readers have the confirmed habit of merely opening it at haphazard and reading there what chance may set before their eyes. Still, it is quite probable that all of them had perused it at least several times. If they did so, their eyes must have several times recognized the mysterious rhetorical figure referring to the veins of the divine whisper. When Father Thébaud wrote thus a generation ago, English-speaking Catholics read their "Imitation" in either of two forms. Clerics doubtless preferred the original Latin of à Kempis. The laity doubtless used only Bishop Challoner's translation. In either case, the mysterious figure of speech confronted them, for Challoner rendered it literally from the Latin. And I can freely assert, with all proper assurance, that in neither case was any light thrown upon the mysterious language by a footnote or parenthesis, or in any quite intelligible manner whatsoever. Who shall reckon up the millions[2] of Catholics who have been thus hopelessly puzzled by a work which so many commentators, together with Father Thébaud, have highly praised for its "simplicity?"

So much for the Latin original and its version into English by Bishop Challoner. In the year 1615 Father George Mayr, S. J.,

[1] Aug. J. Thébaud, S. J., "Who Wrote the 'Imitation of Christ'?", in the "Review," October, 1883.

[2] Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 679 (footnote) on the many editions of Challoner's version.

published at Augsburg his translation of the "Imitation" into Greek. It was reissued[3] in several places and was finally edited anew by Father John Garino and published by the Salesians at Turin in 1879. I shall not attempt to estimate the number of those who, whether in the class-room or in the closet, have found in this Greek version the same old puzzle—for Father Mayr translates our verse with absolute literalness into the sister-language of the Latin.

Those students and lovers of the "Imitation" who, in their translations of it into modern languages[4] or in their attempts to turn the rugged Latinity of Thomas à Kempis into classical Latin phrase,[5] have departed from the literal rendering of the "venas divini susurri," have permitted themselves to indulge in widely variant and mutually exclusive interpretations. Their readers were therefore unaware of the curious phraseology of the Latin original. But it may well seem strange that the translators themselves, confronted with the puzzle, have not made more serious efforts to solve it. I am not aware of one translation that has furnished its readers with a probably correct interpretation. A very few of the translators have recognized that the words "venas susurri"—the "veins of a whisper"— are found in the Vulgate Latin of Job iv., 12. Those who have recognized this ultimate source of the phrase have, with only one exception[6] that I know of, failed to

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[3] Father Garino tells us that he supplied himself with copies of various editions of Mayr's work, and compared what he considered the best one of these with the editio princeps of 1615, with the intent of selecting amongst the variant readings those which were most faithful to the original and which best observed grammatical proprieties. Thus our puzzling verse again came under editorial scrutiny in the most direct possible fashion, and went once more without note or comment. What shall we conclude? that the verse is so self-explanatory as hardly to permit of editorial comment? or that it is, on the contrary, quite beyond the power of a commentator to explain?

[4] In addition to the illustrations given in the present article, see those in the "Review," Oct., 1916, pp. 679-696.

[5] The present article will consider the very early one by Castalio (Castellio) and the very modern one by Ferdinand Philips. Castalio's version comprised only the first three books. It was reprinted at Frankfort in 1707. The British Museum contains Castalio's version together with a similar classical version of the Fourth Book by R. Widdrington, issued at Cambridge in 1688: "De Christo imitando, contemnendisque mundi vanitatibus libellus, authore Thoma Kempisio libri tres, interprete S. Castellione. Quibus adjungitur liber quartus de Coena Domini redditus de Latino in Latinum, hoc est de agrestiore sermone in paulo mundiorem; cum micis aliquot epidorpidum, authore R. Widdrington. In 1901, Philips published in Philadelphia his classical version: "Libri quatuor de imitando Christum . . . ad sententiam Auctoris secundum politiorem formam Romanam dicendi accuratius exprimendam."

[6] The English translation by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., which was noticed in the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 696.

render the phrase in the sense[7] in which it was probably used in the Vulgate. The one translation which has striven so to do has, I think, failed to give us the true meaning of Thomas à Kempis.[8]

I shall not here attempt the impossible task of comparing all the translations of the "Imitation" into the various tongues of the world. The value of my restricted study of the translations lies in the fact that I have not concealed any one of them from my readers. One may thus fairly generalize, and conclude from many particulars to a probable universal.

II.

Without exception, so far as I am aware, the translations of the "Imitation" into French avoid a literal rendering of "venas divini susurri." They give interpretations, more or less satisfactory to the intelligence of devout readers, but suggestive of many questionings to the merely inquisitive student.

The process of interpretation is obvious in the earliest translation into French of the "Imitation," which bore the general title: "Le livre de l'internelle consolacion," and had as its "seconde partie" the book which is generally entitled the "Third Book" of the "Imitation" (and, in some of the most recent editions, the "Fourth Book").[9] A new edition, with an introduction and notes, was edited by L. Moland and Ch. d'Héricault in 1856. The "second part" bears the title: "Cy commence le Traicté de l'Interiore Collocucion de Nostre Saulveur Jesuchrist a l'ame devote. Et est la seconde partie de ce livre." Looking at our first chapter of the Third Book, we find that it contains no Biblical references whatever, although the first verse (which is a quotation from the 84th Psalm, verse 9) is given in capital letters. Our third verse is elaborately rendered in paraphrase, but there is no note, either in the original French

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[7] Commentators see in "venas" an attempt to suggest "a little" of the whisper heard by Eliphaz (Vulgate iv. 12.)

[8] This will be fully illustrated in a succeeding article.

[9] The "Liber Internae Consolationis—De interna Christi locutione ad animam fidelem" has, until very recent years, been universally styled the "Third Book." So has Sommalius placed it; and even Carl Hirsche thought it unwise to disturb the precedent. In his autograph of 1441, à Kempis placed the book on Holy Communion before that on internal consolation. Some very recent editors and translators have followed the order of the autograph of 1441, and have styled the book on Holy Communion the "Third," and that on internal consolation the "Fourth." Pohl follows the traditional naming of the books, but compromises with the autograph by placing the "Fourth" book ahead of the "Third." The rhythmic English version published by Elliot Stock in 1889, the translation 1898, by the Rev. Dr. Bigg, and that of Sir Francis R. Cruise (1909), both call and place the book on Holy Communion "third," and so place the book on internal consolation the fourth in order.

or by the exactingly careful editors, to account for the translation of "venas divini susurri" by "la doulce interiore collocucion divine." Here, then, we have the earliest attempt to render into French our puzzling verse:

"Benoystes sont les oreilles de l'ame lesquelles reçoyvent en elles la doulce interiore collocucion divine, et ne escoutent ou reçoyvent point les tumultes ou noyses des collocucions du monde."

We shall more easily appreciate the laborious evasions of this version by comparing it with Challoner's literal version into English:

EARLIEST FRENCH.	LATIN ORIGINAL.
Blessed are the ears of the soul which receive into them the sweet interior divine colloquy, and do not hear or receive the tumults or noises of the conversations of the world.	Happy ears, which receive the veins of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of this world.

In the Latin text, susurrus (in the first hemistich) is contrasted with susurrationes (in the second hemistich).[10] Whatever criticism may be passed on Bishop Challoner's rigid literalism in rendering "venas" by "veins," he at least preserved the suggestiveness of "susurri" and "susurrationibus." But the French translation gives us neither. It thus loses much of the poetry of language and the beauty and vividness of antithesis. It loses (for obviously its translator did not at all recognize) all the flavor of the Biblical language of the Vulgate Latin of Job iv., 12, which Thomas à Kempis borrowed for his own purposes in this remarkable verse of the "Imitation." And, finally, it misses virtually the whole lesson of the verse, in its attempt to contrast the sweet internal voice of Christ with the tumults and noises of the world. For presumably Thomas à Kempis was rather contrasting the delicate whispers of the Divine Voice with distractions of any worldly kind—not necessarily "tumults" or "noises," but even such quiet mental visitors as vain thoughts and imaginings, haunting memories, unvoiced longings. If we are to hear the special revelations of Christ, we must resolutely shut our mental ears to all earthly distractions.

If the literature of French translation of the "Imitation" or of French comment upon the original Latin or its translations contains anywhere an enlightening note on the "venas divini susurri," it is not improbable that MM. L. Moland and Ch. d'Héricault would have made use of it to comment upon this curious attempt

[10] For the division of our verse into hemistichs, and the reasons therefor, see the "Review" for Oct., 1916, page 678.

of the earliest French translator to render acceptably the true meaning of the apparently baffling thought contained in our third verse, Book Third, of the Imitation.[11]

III.

When one departs from the rule of literalness and enters into the misty regions of interpretation, a great liberty of thoughts and words is apparently permitted. "The sweet interior divine colloquy" as a rendering of the "venas divini susurri" may well be rejected in favor of other intimations supposedly discoverable in the original. At all events, Sebastian Castalio achieved a curious tour de force when he undertook to translate the rugged Latinity of Thomas à Kempis into a polished and classical Latin phraseology. He published his volume "De Imitando Christo" at Basle in 1563.

We are thus excellently furnished with an interesting test-case. For in our baffling verse the heart of the difficulty is found in the "venas divini susurri." Is this expression merely a piece of rugged mediæval Latin? Worse still, is it one of those locutions "quae Teutonicam phrasim redolent"[12]—that is, Dutch idioms bodily carried over into Latin vocabulary by Thomas à Kempis and thus balking so many of his translators from that day to the present time? No, the phrase is not a Dutch idiom. Neither is it peculiar to mediæval piety. Indeed, it is no other than the coinage of the great Latin Father, St. Jerome, who had been scourged by heavenly whips for the reason that he was "a Ciceronian!" Both "vena" and "susurrus" are classical Latin words. I have looked up an elaborate "Index Latinitatis" of Cicero, but failed to find the words conjoined. There seems to be no linguistic or rhetorical reason why they should not be thus connected into a phrase, however, and one may fairly suppose that a distinguished lover of Ciceronic Latin, such as St. Jerome undoubtedly was, might well be trusted not to have indulged in a literary solecism when, in endeavoring to render the sense of the Hebrew of Job iv., 12, he chose the words which

[11] Thus, e. g., they comment on the rendering of "proprietarii" (III., xxxii.) in the earliest French version by "propriétaires," declaring that it means "égoiste, plein d'amour propre, mo remarquable et rare dans ce sens." In the same paragraph, the original Latin uses the word "gyrovagi," and the editors note that the edition of the "Livre de l'internelle consolacion" published in 1498 rendered this word by "girouagues." They comment upon this: "Le texte latin donne en effet 'gyrovagi.' Nous notons ce mot 'girouague' à cause de sa parenté avec le mot 'girouette,' et à cause de sa rarité; nous ne l'avons rencontré nulle part ailleurs." But they place no note attempting to explain why the French translation evades the "venas."

[12] Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 675.

Thomas à Kempis also thought appropriate for the expression of his own thought a thousand years later.

Castalio was—and still is—of great repute as an elegant Latinist. He was also a laborious student and zealous translator of the Bible into both Latin and French. Although he was not a Catholic, we may fairly surmise that he was familiar with the Latin Vulgate and had come upon the "venas susurri" there. Are we therefore to conclude that he consciously rejected St. Jerome's phrase? Or that he failed to recognize and to recall that phrase when he found it in the "Imitation of Christ" (not an improbable supposition, indeed?) Or, finally, whether or not he recalled the phrase and its Hieronymian origin, he nevertheless judged that it sorely needed an interpretation for the comfort of his readers? Howbeit, he renders "venas" by "sonitum" ("sound" or "noise") and thus gives us the following: "Beatae aures quae divini susurri sonitum accipiunt, et hujus mundi susurrationes nihil advertunt."

Clearly, this is an evasion of the difficulty. If we hear a whisper, of course we hear the "sound" of the whisper. The sentence has been extended, but in no wise elucidated. And we are properly tempted to wonder why "vena" should be interpreted merely—or, indeed, in any fashion—as "sound." Is there any illustration of such an interpretation to be found in classical or post-classical Latin? in mediæval or in post-mediæval Latin? Or did Castalio simply find our verse quite unintelligible? I am inclined to answer the last question affirmatively.

Two early translations into English were based on the Latin of Castalio. I have not seen the earlier of the two, by Edward Hake (London, 1567), which formally declares itself to be an English rendering of Castalio's Latin. It would seem quite useless to go to the trouble of obtaining a transcription of our verse from this rare volume. For, taking Castalio's Latin version as his base, Hake would of course not meet at all the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis, but only the "sonitum" of Castalio. But the later translation by Thomas Rogers is of interest, because while it is apparently based on Castalio, it seems also to be aware of the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis.

According to Copinger,[18] Rogers was rector of Horninger, or Horringer, as it is now called, near Bury St. Edmunds, and pub-

[18] Bibliographiana No. 3. On the English Translations of the "Imitatio Christi." By W. A. Copinger, LL. D., F. S. A., F. R. S. A., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Professor of Law in the Owens College and Victoria University, and sometime President of the Bibliographical Society. Privately printed. Manchester, 1900. This little work offers a very convenient account of the translations into English, and I am indebted to it for several interesting items.

lished his volume in 1580. The edition which I consulted is dated 1589 and has a number of quite curious features.

First of all, to a volume small enough to be described in our time as a 16mo., there is given a title so extensive as to indicate to any discerning reader the high importance attached by the translator to his work.[14]

Then there is the conscientious acknowledgment that the translation is not complete and full. In "a second epistle concerning the translation and correction of this booke," Rogers remarks: "Sebastian Castalio having translated this booke into Latine, thought it good by waie of preface to give some reasons, both why hee had translated the same, beeing in Latine alreadie; and why so he had translated it, leaving somewhat of the Author out. The case standeth with me as it did with Castalio. Therefore am I to yield some reasons, both why I have translated this boke into English, being in English alreadie; and why so I have translated it, leaving somewhat out, as I have doone. . . . Now touching my correction, I truste no good man will mislike the same. For I have left out nothing but what might be offensive to the godlie. Yet is it neither for quantitie muche, nor for number above foure sentences." He gives fully the four sentences, shows what he has done with them, and gives his reasons.[15] He is most conscientious. He remarks

[14] The addiction of Rogers to Biblical quotations is evidenced in his title-page: "Of the Imitation of Christ, Three, both for wisdome, and goodlines, most excellent bookes, made 170. yeares since by one Thomas of Kempis, and for the worthines thereof oft since translated out of Latine into sundrie languages by diuers godlie and learned men. Now newlie corrected, translated, and with most ample textes, and sentences of holie Scripture illustrated by Thomas Rogers. John, 14, 16: I am the waie, the truth, and the life. Marke, 8, 38: Whosoever wil folowe me, let him forsake himselfe, and take up his crosse and folowe me. 1 Cor. 11, 1: Folowe me, as I folowe Christ. At London. Printed by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Aldersgate-street at the signe of the Starre. 1589."

[15] As Rogers was one of "the godlie and learned men," he balked at this: "Hoc signum crucis erit in coelo, cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit" (II. xii. 1.) He notes that Castalio classicized it thus: "Atque hoc erit signum crucis in coelo, cum Dominus ad judicandum veniet," and comments: "Which sentence, forsomuch as I see neither the Scripture, nor anye good writer doth confirme the same, I have left out altogether." His second objectionable sentence is: "Sed nec inimicum diabolum timebis, si fueris fide armatus, et cruce Christi signatus" (II. xii. 9.) "What needes these words, 'And marked with the crosse of Jesus?' I have therefore not mentioned them." His third sentence is: "Non enim stat meritum nostrum" etc. (II xii. 14), "which," he says, "I have thus Englished: 'Neither dooth our coming forwarde consist in the stoare of pleasures, and comfort,' etc., leaving out the word merit. Because both the Scripture is cleane against our meriting, and the Author, too, in manie places (e.g., 3rd booke, c. 26, c. 52, c. 58) condemns the same." The fourth is: "Sed neque qui tunc justi erant et salvandi, ante passionem tuam, et sacrae mortis debitum, coeleste regnum poterant introire (III. xviii., 2.) Rogers wonders: "Where then were they? in hell? I think none will saie it. In Abrahams bosome, as some, in Limbo patrum, as other Papistes doo saie: but that wil not easilie be proved. Wherefore . . . I have omitted and left out the sentence. Rogers several times quotes Hake's translation.

that he has "added some godlie sentences, which have been omitted by Castalio and such as followed him." Thomas Rogers omitted the Fourth Book (on Holy Communion). But the volume I consulted had bound in with the first three books another work by Thomas à Kempis, translated by Rogers in 1592: "Soliloquium Animae. The Sole-talke of the Soul, which for the great affinitie it hath with other bookes of the author. . . is now entitled the fourth booke of the Imitation of Christ." Castalio had translated only the first three books. Whether it was by oversight or by intention that Rogers followed Castalio here, may be left to surmise. He seems to have been unaware of the book on the Holy Communion, for despite his conscientious pointing out of the "foure sentences" whose omission he elaborately defended, he nowhere alludes to his omission of the fourth book. Some early manuscripts, especially in England, omitted the fourth book.[16]

What interests us most of all, however, in connection with our present labors, is the reiterated boast of Rogers that he had gone to infinite trouble to illustrate his translation with Scriptural references. This is of great importance, indeed; for, down to the last half-century, hardly a translator seemed to be aware that the phrase "venas susurri" was taken originally from St. Jerome's Vulgate. Even V. Postel, editing a Latin edition in 1867, and illustrating the first chapter of the Third Book with no less than twelve Scriptural citations, omitted the necessary reference to Job for our verse.[17] But let us hear Rogers on the subject. He first calls attention to this feature of his work in the title-page, where he assures us that the translation is "with most ample textes, and sentences of holie Scripture illustrated." He again emphasizes this feature in his Latin dedication to Sir Thomas Bromley, chancellor of England, declaring that he has distinguished his work "variis, et multiplicibus, ss. Scripturae sententiis." And finally, in his "second epistle," he gives this feature as the most prominent one of all—the one that virtually determined him to translate anew the "truly golden books of the 'Imitation of Christ:'" "I have taken the translation upon mee, not so much to translate, as to illustrate the same with places of Scripture. For doubtlesse great pittie was it, that a booke so plentifullie, or altogether rather fraighted with sentences of the Scripture, was either no whit, as in some, or no better, as in the best impressions, quoted. Besides, I have not onelie shewed the

[16] When Atkynson translated (1502) only three books of the "Imitation," he "had evidently no manuscript containing the fourth book. As has been shown above, such manuscripts are very rare in England. He clearly had to use a manuscript of the 'Musica Ecclesiastica' type containing only three books." Thus Montmorency: Thomas à Kempis, His Age and His Book, p. 137.

[17] Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 674.

Chapter, but the verie sentence also of everie chapter, where what is written may be founde; a thing which, that I heare of, none afore me hath doone. The bringing of which to passe, how paineful it hath been to me, he alone can best report, who hath either doone or dooth go about the like; howe not comfortable onelie, but profitable besides it will be to others, they shal finde that zealouslie dooe read the same."

We can well sympathize with Rogers; for his self-imposed task was no light one. And we cannot but marvel at his diligence; for he has illustrated the first chapter of the Third Book with no less that forty-one Biblical references! This prodigious result will be best appreciated when we reflect that Pohl, who gives the most complete list of Scriptural references in his now classical edition of the Latin (published in 1904), gives only three Scriptural references for this chapter. One of the three is, of course, that to Job, iv., 12, for the "venas susurri" in our verse. Amongst the forty-one Biblical references which Rogers so industriously brought together to illustrate this chapter, the reference to Job is not found! This curious result is not emphasized here in order to cast any discredit on the labors of Rogers, for he was not a Catholic, and was of course unaware of the peculiar phraseology of the Latin Vulgate. Even Catholics, like V. Postel, D. D., writing three centuries after Rogers, were similarly unaware of the Hieronymian original of the phrase. But the failure of Rogers to identify the source of our phrase will serve to explain the misty views of those Protestant translators who came after him—just as the failure of able scholars like V. Postel will serve similarly to explain a like mistiness in our Catholic translators.

Finally, let us see how Rogers wrestled with our verse. If he followed Castalio, he evidently saw how useless was the word "sonitum." If he had the original of Thomas à Kempis before him, he simply evaded the "venas:" "Blessed are the eares which can heare when God whispereth, and doo naught regard the noise of the world." Whatever contrast between "susurrus" and "susurrationes" was intended by Thomas à Kempis is lost entirely. And the "venae" appears not at all.

IV.

The earliest of the translations into English is conjectured to date somewhere between 1450 and 1480.[18] If its author was not aware of the source of "venas susurri" in Job, he nevertheless came as near to the sense of St. Jerome (as interpreted by modern exegetes) as any translation that has fallen under our observation.

[18] Ibid., page 686 ("Rounynge"), for some account of it.

The partitive sense perhaps implied by the "of" in its rendering ("of goddes rounynge") is fairly that of one of the most recent of the translators of the "Imitation," Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., who interprets the meaning as "at least a faint sound."[19] The translation of William Atkynson,[20] D. D., made in the year 1502, avoided the "venas" by the expedient of "styll spekynge or rounynge." In 1556, Whytford[21] renders the phrase by "secret breathings." Presumably, Hake, in 1567, literally rendered Castalio's "sonitum" and not the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis. In 1580 God gives us the paraphrastic "when God whispereth."

And so we come down to the year 1613, when "F. B." (or "B. F."), identified with Anthony Hoskins, S. J., published (in St. Omer) his version into English.[22] This translation is the most significant of all the English renderings; for virtually all that have appeared since then have been either directly or indirectly based upon his work. A fourth edition (from which the following transcript has been made) was published by John Cousturier (Douai?) in 1633, and bore in its title the initials "F. B." For purposes of easy comparison, the first few sentences of our chapter will be printed here in parallel form. The reader's attention is directed to the word "sound" in our third verse. Had Father Hoskins Castalio's elegant Latin version, as well as the original Latin of Thomas à Kempis, under his eyes when he thus avoided the "venas?" It is not improbable; for although Castalio was not a Catholic, his activities were marked by some amiable and tolerant characteristics; and his Colloquia Sacra (Basle, 1545) was esteemed so highly that, its taint of socinianism and its other blemishes having been carefully removed and whatever other features were offensive to a Catholic instinct having been corrected, it was issued in 1748 under the title "Colloquia sacra, ad linguam simul et morum puerorum formandos." This, then, is the translation of "B. F." (or "F. B.").

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[19] Ibid., page 696.

[20] Ibid., pp. 687-8 ("Styll Speknyge").

[21] Ibid., pp. 685-6 ("Secret Breathings").

[22] The initials "F. B." are in Cousturier's edition, but "B. F." translates the "Imitation" (first ed., St. Omer, 1613.) The 2nd ed. (St. Omer, 1615) was followed by a 3rd (St. Omer, 1624) which has the initials "F. B." Gillow's Biog. Dict. of the English Catholics gives a summary of his life (b. Herefordshire, 1568; Douay College, 1590; Spain, 1591, entering the Society of Jesus there, 1693; England, 1603; professed of the four vows in London 1609; Madrid, c. 1611; d. Valladolid, 1615) and says that his translation of the "Imitation" "is probably little else than a modernized version of Richard Whytford's translation." I have compared the translations through a number of sequent verses in various places and find the translations as dissimilar as carefully executed ones might well be.

B. F.—1613.	M. C.—1636.
1. I will heare what our Lord God will speak in me.	1. I will heare what our Lord God will speak in me.
2. Blessed is the soule that heareth our Lord speaking in her, and receaveth from his mouth the word of comfort.	2. Blessed is the soule that heareth our Lord speaking in her: and receaveth from his mouth, the word of comfort.
3. Blessed are those eares that receave the sound of the divine voice, and listen not to the whisperings of the world.	3. Blessed are those eares that receave the sound of the divine voice, amd listen not to the whisperings of the world.
4. Blessed indeed are those ears that hearken not to the voice which soundeth outwardly, but unto truth which teacheth inwardly.	4. Blessed indeed are those eares that harken not to the voice which soundeth outwardly, but unto truth which teacheth inwardly.
5. Blessed are the eies that being shut up to outward things, are attentive to those things that are internal.	5. Blessed are the eies that being shut up to outward things, are attentive to those things that are internall.

The translation by "M. C.,"[23] i. e., "M. C(arre)" was published in Paris by "Mistris Blageart." The title-page declares that it is a translation of the "Imitation" "revised and in divers things corrected by M. C., confessor to the English nuns at Paris." Obviously, it is a revision of the version by B. F. But the interesting thing about it is the salient fact that the reviser saw no reason for altering "sound" as a rendering of "venas." The identity of the language throughout these verses of the first chapter of the Third Book is not the really remarkable thing; for, outside of the word "sound," they faithfully

[23] "M. C." was an abbreviation of "Miles Car" or "Thomas Carre," pseudonyms of Miles Pinkney, priest, b. 1599 near Durham, ordained at Douay in 1625; d. in Paris, 1674. In 1633 "Mary Tredway and some English ladies of the French abbey of St. Augustine at Douay were inspired by Mr. Carre to found an English convent of the same order. With the assistance of Cardinal Richelieu . . . they settled, in 1633" in Paris, and M. Carre withdrew from Douay to be their chaplain. The community finally removed to the rue Fossés St. Victor, in 1639. "Mr. Carre spared neither time nor labor in the foundation of this convent. He repeatedly crossed the Channel in its interest, and most of his own money was spent upon it. For forty years he devoted himself almost exclusively to his charge." (Gillow.) He is the author or translator of 17 volumes. He dedicated his tr. of the "Imitation" to "his much honored good lady, Marie Tredway, Abbesse of the English Nunnery, and to all the religious dames, her pious and obedient daughters," and added a life of à Kempis. He also dedicated to "Lady Marie Tredway" translations of several other works of à Kempis.

translate the original Latin, and the English idiom is nowhere faulty.

In 1639 there was published at Oxford, by W. P(age), an English version whose title-page declared it to be a revision and correction of the "translations" of the "Imitation." W. Page was chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, to whom he dedicates his volume. He "made bold to leave out" certain things, "because the author thereof was too much addicted to one side." This language seems very modern to our ears. Now it is highly interesting to note that Page takes the version of F. B. in the extracted verses I have quoted, word for word, with one exception. In the last verse (the fifth) he substitutes "things that are within" for "things that are internal." The spelling is slightly modernized (e. g., "hear" for "heare," "receiveth" for "receaveth," "eyes" for "eies,") although the spellings "speake," "soule" and "eares" are retained. The important thing, of course, is that he apparently finds no reasons for changing "sound" after his consultation of various translations.

In 1654 under the title, apparently, of "The Christian's Pattern," John Worthington issued his translation.[24] No copy of this first edition is extant, so far as I am aware. Another edition was issued in 1677. With its spelling still more modernized than that of Page's edition, it is identical, in the five verses I have quoted, with the translation of F. B., save for three things. First, it inserts the word "the" before "truth" (in the fourth verse). Second, it changes "our Lord" into "the Lord" in the first and second verses. In so far it sought to "Protestantize" the language of Catholic devotion—a thing which W. Page, to his credit, did not attempt. John Wesley, in 1735,[25] seems to have based his translation upon that of John Worthington; but, as we have already seen, he substitutes "whispers" for the lifeless word "sound." Third, it changes the fifth verse to: "Blessed are the eyes that are shut to outward things, but open to those things that are internal." It would seem that Worthington had the work of F. B. before him, and not that of W. Page.

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[24] Cf. the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 688.

[25] Ibid., page 691. In his preface, Wesley says: "As it is impossible for any one to know the usefulness of this treatise, till he has read it in such manner as it deserves: instead of heaping up commendations of it, which thousands who have read it do not want, and those who have not will not believe, I have transcribed a few plain directions how to read this (or indeed any other religious work) with improvement." He thereupon gives most excellent directions for reading the "Imitation," filled with the spirit of practical piety. I have come upon them (in Latin) in a recently issued edition of the Latin text of the "Imitation," where they form (apparently) a portion of the very modern preface of the editor. No acknowledgment is made to any anterior source—and I am wondering why! Probably they were to be found in the Latin edition used by Wesley.

In 1695 "The Christian's Pattern" was reissued by Richard Wellington. The wording of our five verses is exactly that of the edition of 1677.

In 1696 Dean Stanhope published his curiously paraphrastical edition, which I have noticed elsewhere.[26] Instead of "sound," we find in it "the soft and gentle whispers."

In 1702 there was an English edition published by Nicolas de Turner in Rouen, "revised and corrected by W. B." With modernized spellings and unfortunately conceived changes of verbal endings (such as "hears" for "heareth," "receives" for "receiveth," "sounds" for "soundeth," "teaches" for teacheth") it is identical, in our five verses, with the translation of F. B.

Thus far, the "sonitus" of Castalio, and the "sound" of F. B., have had a wide influence on the translators of the "Imitation" into English. It is a pity that "venas" should thus have been lost sight of so completely.

In 1726[27] Thomas Meighan, "in Drury Lane," published a translation that broke violently away from the tradition set by the version of F. B. Not only does it avoid the "venas" of the original, but as well the "sound" of the previous renderings; and it changes the solemn "eth" of the present tense into the popular "s" of the day: "I will hear what my Lord God will speak within me. Blessed is the soul that hears what God speaks to it, and receives with Attention the Words of Comfort from his Mouth. Blessed are the Ears which greedily suck in the divine Whispers; and are shut to the Suggestions of this World. Blessed, indeed, are those Ears which let the Noise of the World pass by unheeded; and only listen to the inward Lesson of Truth. Blessed are those Eyes which are shut to exterior Objects, and look inward with Attention." The "venas divini susurri" is now condensed and the plural is transferred from "venas" to "susurri," so that now we have: "Blessed are the ears which greedily suck in the divine whispers."

In 1735 John Wesley published his vigorous translation, which has been noticed previously. In 1737 Bishop Challoner issued his own version. It was published by Thomas Meighan; and we may perhaps fairly suppose that the volume which this publisher had issued only eleven years previously had been intended for the use of Catholics in England. Burton, the biographer of Challoner, tells us that the Bishop "turned a little while from controversy to bring out an entirely new translation of the 'Imitation of Christ,' the older version then in the hands of Catholics having become antiquated in style." Burton does not inform us as to the edition thus stigmatized. It could hardly have been that of F. B., excellent in

[26] Ibid., page 693.

[27] I regret not having seen Willymott's translation of an earlier date.

itself, and several times modernized by competent lovers of it on the Continent. I am inclined to suspect that it was the lately issued volume published by the same Thomas Meighan, who was so soon to bring out the Bishop's own version. Dr. Challoner tells us in his preface (which I have never found in any of the more recent editions) that: "In this new Translation we have used our best Endeavors to present our Author to the English Reader in his native Simplicity, which speaks more powerfully to the Heart, than the most elaborate Compositions of human Eloquence. And we have been faithful to a Nicety in rendering everywhere what we judged to be his true Meaning, without adding or retracting anything."

While it is probable that Bishop Challoner had in his mind the fluffy elaborations of the volume published by Meighan, and perhaps the popular and still more reprehensible paraphrases of Dean Stanhope's version, it still is very probable that his own version was based on that of F. B., although he does not slavishly follow it, as did his predecessors in the work of translation. He surely vindicates his assertion that he was "faithful to a nicety;" for he omits the "sound" of F. B., and goes back to the original "venas divini susurri," which he literally renders as "the veins of the divine whisper." For a reason which will appear in a subsequent article, I venture with all modesty to support heartily this rigid literalism. I think it is the only proper rendering of the refractory phrase; but I also think that a translator who uses it should append thereto an enlightening footnote. The Bishop's reference to "the true meaning" of the author then—and therefore—becomes of significant importance to us.

Nearly all the subsequent English translations are based on F. B. either directly or through the medium of Worthington and his derivatives, or that of Challoner and his derivatives. I have before me two recent editions which formally make acknowledgment, and make it directly, to F. B. Both translations are quite interesting in the manner in which they treat our verse. As Challoner broke away from the "sound" and literally rendered "venas" by "veins," so do these two variously render "venas" by "pulses" and "runlets."

"Pulses" is found in a translation entitled: "The Imitation of Christ, or The Ecclesiastical Music," edited by J. H. Srawley, D. D., and issued by the Cambridge University Press (1908—but I do not know when the first edition was printed). Our verse thus appears: "Blessed are the ears that gladly receive the pulses of the divine whisper, and give no heed to the whisperings of this world."[28] A footnote to "whisper" refers to Job iv., 12.

[28] The translations edited by Canon Farrar, or published by Frowde, and by W. Scott, which give "pulses," are referred to in the "Review" for Oct., 1915, pp. 680, 681 and 681 (footnote).

"Runlets" is found in a volume first published in 1898 by Methuen (London), entitled "The Imitation of Christ: called also The Ecclesiastical Music. A revised translation, notes and introduction by C. Bigg, D. D., of Christ Church, Oxford." Our verse is thus rendered: "Blessed are the ears that welcome the runlets of the divine whisper: and heed not the whisperings of this world." A footnote to "whisper" refers to "Job iv., 12 (Vulgate)," a happy addition ("Vulgate") to the Biblical reference, for whoso should consult the Authorized Version would meet there no mention of veins or whisper.

Dr. Srawley evidently found the "sound" of F. B. insufficient and substituted "pulses." His edition is prefaced with the simple note: "The present translation is based upon the English Version of 1620 by F. B., which has been revised throughout with the help of Hirsche's text of the original. The work is reproduced in its entirety, no attempt being made to modify its language to suit the needs of modern readers."

Dr. Bigg, in his excellent introduction, says: "The present translation, though practically new, is based upon that of F. B. . . . His version is that which, in a more or less disguised form, is still most familiar to English readers. I have gone over it several times in the light of the autograph [1441] text, with so much freedom that but a little of the original is left, except in those passages where it is hardly possible for two translators to differ even verbally. The object followed has been to produce a rendering as faithful in all points to the original as the genius of the English language would allow." The various notes in this edition are finely conceived, and sometimes are fairly lengthy. In view both of this fact and of the editor's determination to give a rendering "as faithful in all points to the original as the genius of the English language would allow," it is strange that he should translate "venas" by "runlets" without indicating in a note the reason for the unique rendering and even without giving the Latin original of à Kempis (of which Dr. Bigg evidently considered "runlets" a faithful translation or an obviously correct interpretation). If, however, the "runlets" of Dr. Bigg's edition be correct, it is clear that the "pulses" of Dr. Srawley's is incorrect, and that all the other highly varied elucidations (such as "echoes," "breathings," "sound," "instillings," "throbbing," "approach," etc.) of the other translators are wild guesses. Mystery envelops our verse in all quarters!

There are some breaks in the tradition set by the version of F. B. Thus, for instance, Dean Stanhope based his soaring translation on the vitiated Latin text of Castalio, as Edward Hake and Thomas Rogers had done before F. B.'s version was made. As we shall see

in a moment, a certain S. Smith in his turn based his rendering on that of Stanhope. Payne and Dibdin[29] based theirs on Valart's French version, as did an anonymous translator (Dublin, 1785). Let us now consider some of these.

In spite of the good example of simplicity and faithfulness set by such translators as F. B., Wesley and Challoner, fanciful and paraphrastic elaborations continued in vogue. In 1738—one year after the appearance of Challoner's excellent version—a certain S. Smith issued in London another translation entitled "The Christian's Pattern," which was obviously but a slight alteration of that of Dean Stanhope. I will compare only the two renderings of our verse:

STANHOPE	S. SMITH
Blessed are the ears which with a greedy attention drink in the soft and gentle whispers of His spirit, while they continue obstinately deaf to the treacherous insinuations of this deluding world.	Blessed are those ears, which attentively listen to the soft and gentle whispers of His spirit; but are obstinately deaf to the treacherous insinuations of this deluding world.

In 1763, John Payne published his translation, based on the French version of Valart (Paris, 1758 and 1761), which in turn is based on Valart's Latin edition, with its peculiar views and textual omissions. In 1828, Dibdin produced a version based on that of Payne. Copinger thinks that the translation of Payne is "far too free, full of long words and sentences, and altogether in a style unsuited to the simplicity of the original." Of Dibdin's version he remarks: "No person wishful of acquiring an exact idea of the original need think for a moment of deriving such from Dibdin's version. Payne was bad enough, but Payne plus Dibdin is execrable." I have already considered both of these translations, and need here but recall to mind that both render our verse as follows: "Blessed are the ears that receive the soft whispers of the divine breath, and exclude the noise and tumult of the world." The "venas" of the original is omitted.

In 1774, Robert Keith issued his translation at Glasgow. It is based on that of Worthington, and therefore ultimately on that of F. B., and accordingly repeats the "sound" which we have so often noticed: "Blessed are those ears that hear the sound of the divine voice, and listen not to the whisperings of the world."

An anonymous translation based on Valart was published in

[29] The translations of Payne and Dibdin were considered in the "Review," Oct., 1916, page 693.

Dublin in 1785, which I should be glad to know more about. Copinger is my authority for the following. The translator states that he had two Protestant translations before him, and mostly adopted Mr. Payne's, "when P. did not disfigure the text by religious opinions which certainly had no existence in the days of à Kempis." The translation is a modification of those of Stanhope and Payne. The anonymous translator shrewdly declares that à Kempis "had the advantage of these learned gentlemen; while they are obliged to compose, he only translated; for the religion diffused throughout this invaluable book is the religion of his heart and understanding."

In 1860 a translation, with an introduction signed "H. G.," was published at Cambridge. It finds in the Scriptural narrative of Elias at Mount Horeb a suggestion for the elucidation of our verse, in the Protestant "still, small voice:"[30] "Blessed are the ears which hear the whispers of the still, small voice, and are not affected by the whisperings of this world."

In 1865 a translation was published in London under the title, "Like Unto Christ." Our verse is rendered as follows: "Blessed are the ears that feel the breath of the divine whisper, heeding not the whispers of this world." But what has "venas" to do with feeling a breath?

In 1881[31] Kegan Paul issued an anonymous translation which gives this as a rendering of the verse: "Blessed the ears which receive the instillings of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world." This is the version of Challoner (or of F. B.), and altered.

In 1912 Longmans issued a "new impression" of the "Imitation" "translated and edited by the Ven. W. H. Hutchings, M. A., late canon of York and rector of Kirby Misperton." Our verse here reads: "Blessed are the ears which catch the breathings[32] of the divine whisper, and pay no heed to the whispers of the world." For "venas" we now have "breathings."

In 1909 Sir Francis R. Cruise, M. D., D. L., K. S. G., published his own translation of a work which he had previously written about with much learning and good taste. In his preface he says that he had undertaken it "with great diffidence," at the request of the Council of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, and that he would have "hesitated to

[30] The Authorized Version (I Kings xix. 12) has "a still, small voice." The Vulgate (III. Kings xix., 12) has (Challoner's tr.) "a whistling of a gentle air."

[31] Benham's translation (1874) is considered in the "Review," Oct., 1916, p. 695.

[32] Several editions which use "breathings" are referred to ibid., p. 694.

attempt so responsible a task but for the kind promise of the Revd. Henry Browne, S. J., to assist" him in "the many difficulties of translating a work which, indeed, scarcely admits of satisfactory translation." He chose as his model the version of Bishop Challoner: "We have good evidence that he closely followed the text of an earlier translation which was published at Douai at the commencement of the preceding century, and was signed F. B. The translator was the Revd. Anthony Hoskins, S. J. These versions, which were not without errors and faults, possessed the great merit of imitating admirably the style of the original. . . ." Dr. Cruise renders our verse thus: "Happy the ears that receive the accents[33] of the divine whisper, and take no notice of the whisperings of the world." He replaces the "sound" of F. B., as also the "veins" of Challoner, by "accents." The edition contains no Scriptural references whatever, and has no notes. The reader who recalls the "veins" of Challoner, or the "venas" of Thomas à Kempis, is left to his own surmise as to the reason for rendering either by "accents." In what way or for what intelligible reason should "vena" be considered equivalent to "accent," or suggestively represented by it?

I have noticed elsewhere the learned edition[34] put forth by Father Thaddeus, O. F. M., and his attempted elucidation by a reference to Job as interpreted by Father Carrières. He renders "venas divini susurri" by "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper."

Having thus fairly cleared the board of the many and sometimes highly varied renderings of our verse into English, we are free to turn once again to the less varied, but equally unsatisfactory, renderings of different translators belonging to the continent of Europe. French, German, Italian and Spanish translations will be almost exclusively considered, as these lend themselves easily to a generally intelligible and fairly accurate translation into English.

V.

Translations of the "Imitation" into other languages than English would offer a very large field for exploration, and only relatively few may be considered in the present article.

The earliest translation into French has been noticed, since perhaps its freedom of interpretation was not unknown to Castalio, a native of Dauphiny. Castalio, in his turn, freely rendered "venas" by "sonitum," and it is not improbable that F. B. had come upon his classical Latin version of the "Imitation," and had thus adopted

[33] Ibid., p. 693 ("Accents") for reference to the Tournai edition of Challoner.

[34] Ibid., p. 696.

his word, "sound;" for the celebrated English translation which so powerfully affected nearly all succeeding ones to the present day used that word.

Before considering the various interesting translations of our phrase into other languages, it will not be amiss to take up another attempted classical version into Latin of the original Latin work of à Kempis. This was achieved by Ferdinand Philips in a serial form in the "Praeco Latinus," and his version was reissued in a well-edited and beautifully printed volume which was published in Philadelphia sixteen years ago. The editor tells us in his Latin preface that he had sought much help, in difficult places of the original text, from no less than nine competent friends, English, French, German. He also notes that English, French and German editors frequently went astray in their translations, forcing their own interpretations upon the venerable text, and sometimes even omitting portions.

Having thus learned the mind of the translator, a reader might naturally suppose that he himself would avoid doubtful interpretations or, if necessity demanded these, would indicate to the reader the doubtful character of a new rendering, either by a footnote which should call the reader's attention in a formal manner to the interpretative rendering, or by the inclusion of the original Latin text within brackets. The "venas susurri" is a case in point. The highly varied English renderings of this phrase sufficiently prove its obscurity. And yet, when the editor chose to give a new interpretation to these puzzling words, he nowhere indicated that he was forcing his own interpretation on the original text. This is his translation of the whole verse: "Beatae aures, quae modulos divini susurri suscipiunt, e susurrationibus autem mundi hujus nihil percipiunt." Is the meaning, however, made notably clearer by the change of "venas" into "modulos?" What are the "moduli" of a whisper? Have whispers, any more than language in general, rhythmic beats or cadences? Or was the editor perhaps thinking less of the word "venas" than of the various guesses of ingenious English translators, such as "pulses," "accents," "throbbing" and the rest?

When Castalio's version into classical Latin was under our consideration, it was pointed out that the phrase "venas divini susurri" was not a specimen of rugged mediæval Latinity, but was the coinage of St. Jerome himself. Why, then, should not Castalio have simply retained it? For the same reason, one might inquire why Mr. Philips thought it wise to change the phrase into "modulos divini susurri." In his preface, Mr. Philips refers to the "Latinitas tam turbida et peregrina" of the "Imitation." But in the case of our

phrase, the Latinity is not turbid, nor has it a foreign cast of idiom. Its meaning is undoubtedly obscure, and a translator is quite at liberty to attempt an elucidation of the phrase, when a rendering of it is made into a modern vernacular. But here, I am convinced, the translator should give the original Latin text also. On the other hand, a translator who should wish, with Castalio and Mr. Philips, merely to reconstruct the text of à Kempis in the interest of classical Latin idiom, should not tamper with any portion of it which may fairly be esteemed as satisfactory from a classical standpoint. It is noteworthy that when George Mayr, S. J., turned the "Imitation" into Greek, he respected this canon of appropriateness, and literally rendered "venas" by "phlebas." He did not attempt an elucidation of the obscure Latin. He simply translated it.

VI.

The "sonitus" of Castalio, the "sound" of F. B., is repeated in various identical or equivalent forms, and with varied adjuncts, by translations into the vernacular tongues of Europe. With but little attempt at strict order, let us glance at some of these evasions (for that is precisely what they are) of the "veins" of St. Jerome and Thomas à Kempis.

What Dibdin styles "an elegant but paraphrastic version" of the "Imitation" appeared in Paris in 1662 as a "traduction nouvelle par le Sieur De Beuil, prieur de Saint-Val." This was a pseudonym adopted by Le Maistre De Sacy. Although his translation was declared to be unfaithful to the original, it had an immense popularity and ran through seventeen editions within ten years of its first appearance. Barbier declares that, of all the French versions of the "Imitation," "this made the liveliest sensation in the Christian world" (Dibdin.) The edition lying before me was published in Paris in 1767—more than a century after the first issue—and still bears the pseudonym of Le Sieur de Beuil. The translation of our verse is: "Heureuse est l'oreille qui entend les sons sacrés de ce langage divin, et qui se rend sourde aux bruits et aux tumultes du monde!" Obviously, this is very free. The plural "aures" here becomes the singular "oreille;" "venas" becomes "sacred sounds;" "divini susurri" becomes "of this divine language;" and "susurrationes" is swelled out into "the noises and tumults."

A version into Portuguese by Fr. Antonio de Padua y Bellas (Lisbon, 1801) follows the type of De Sacy closely: "Felizes os ouvidos, que recebem os sons sagrados da linguagem divina. . . ." Again we have "the sacred sounds of the divine language."

The word "sacred" applied to the sounds of the divine utterance is obviously tautological, for the sounds of the divine speech are,

of course, sacred by implication. M. de Genoude (Edition nouvelle, Paris, 1845) was well advised in omitting "sacred" and "tumults" from his repetition of "the sound of the divine language." His singular number ("sound") makes him in so far forth an associate of Castalio and F. B.: "Heureuses les oreilles qui saisissent le son de ce langage divin, et qui n' entendent rien du bruit du monde."

While "sacred" is a superfluous word to qualify "sound," the adjectives "soft" or "sweet" should not be so considered, for they add a real qualification to "sound" such as might properly be suggested by "vena." A stream of water (which is one of the classical meanings of vena) makes a soft sound, a sweet murmur. And thus we have the "dolce suono" of Cesare Guasti's version into Italian, which will be considered further on and in a different connection. Thus we find also the "dolce mormorio," the sweet murmur, given in the anonymous translation published (together with the Latin text, in parallel form) at Turin in 1761: "Beate le orecchie, che odono il dolce mormorio delle divine ispirazioni: e sono sorde ai susurri confusi di questo mondo" ("Blessed the ears which hear the sweet murmur of the divine inspirations, and are deaf to the confused whispers of this world.") This splendid edition, issued more than a century and a half ago, gives a reference to Job iv., 12, and quotes the language of the Vulgate Latin, (and also quotes, most appropriately, III Kings xix., 2-12.)

We again find "le doux son" in the curiously inverted and paraphrastical translation of a volume published at Neufchatel in 1706 under the strange title: "Kempis Commun, ou les Quatres Livres de l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ. Partie traduits, partie paraphrasé, selon le sens intérieur et mystique." This version joins into one sentence verses three and four of the first chapter of the Third Book: "Heureuses les oreilles qui étant bouchées pour ne point entendre le bruit des choses du monde, reçoivent le doux son des inspirations divines, et qui ne s'arrestant point à la parole qui résonne au dehors, escoutent avec attention la verité qui enseigne dans l'intérieur!" Here, then, "venas divini susurri" becomes "the sweet sound of the divine inspirations."

Merely a rhetorical emendation (and therefore retaining "le doux son") is the translation issued by Aurel (Valence, 1850): "Heureuses les oreilles qui, fermées au monde, reçoivent le doux son des inspirations divines; et qui ne s'arrêtant point à la parole qui résonne au dehors, écoutent avec attention la vérité qui se fait entendre dans l'intérieur." It combines two verses into one sentence.

While "sonitus" may be rendered, rather colorlessly, by "sound," it may also be rendered by "noise." The celebrated French version of the "Imitation" by M. P. P. (that is, Michel de Marillac) is

praised highly by Gence in the "Journal des Curés" (27 and 28 September, 1810)[35] as having best reproduced the spirit of the author of the "Imitation." It first appeared in Paris, 1621, was reprinted often in the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, sometimes (says Brunet) with the initials M. P. P. on the title-page, sometimes with the letters M. R. G. A., or simply R. G., and sometimes without any initials. One edition alone (Paris, 1643) gives the name of the translator. The "new edition, carefully revised" (Paris, 1643,) issued by P. Moreay, gives neither the name nor the pseudonymous initials of the translator. In it we find the "venas divini susurri" translated by "le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine:" "Heureuses les oreilles qui reçoivent le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine, et n'entendent rien de tous les bruits du monde." One may well wonder if this interpretation of the curious phrase, "venas divini susurri," should be considered as best representing the spirit of Thomas à Kempis! Or, if it be properly so considered, why à Kempis should so laboriously have employed the strange phrase instead of simply (like Castalio) using "sonitum!" In general, it is true, Marillac's version of the "Imitation" may deserve the commendation of Gence. Howbeit, this rendering of our verse is repeated, word for word, in an edition (Paris, 1652) whose title-page declares that the books of the "Imitation" are now "traduits en François du Latin pris sur le MS. original de l'Autheur, de l'an 1441. Par Heribert Rosweyde, de la Compagnie de Jésus." A reader would naturally suppose that the translation contained in this volume came from the pen of the famous Rosweyde himself. A comparison of several verses, however, assures me that the translation is exactly that of Marillac—the "par" referring merely to the Latin text as edited by Rosweyde and not to the French translation based thereupon. The catalogue of printed works in the British Museum placed (at least in its older edition) a racket following the word "par:" ["par M. de Marillac and revised by] H. Rosweyde." I doubt that Rosweyde revised the translation. The 1652 edition was doubtless a virtual reprint of that of 1630, of which Brunet says that it was "corrigée d'après le textu du P. Rosweyde." This is quite intelligible. Rosweyde was born in 1569, and died in 1629, and could hardly have revised the work for publication in 1630; but he had edited a Latin text of the "Imitation" from the original MS., and had also published his translation of it into Flemish, at Antwerp, in 1617, basing his work

[35] Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, refers to Gence, and adds that Marillac was Keeper of the Seals under Louis XIII. It is curious to reflect that the translation of a layman should have been esteemed by Gence as reflecting the true spirit of the "Imitation" better than the previous versions of able clerics.

on a previous version (1548), but comparing this with the autograph of à Kempis of 1441.[36] In all this tangle, however, we catch no ray of enlightenment concerning "le doux bruit" as a rendering of "venas." Is the case quite hopeless?

The "doux bruit" seems to have found favor as an evasion of the difficulty; for I find it in the translation generally credited, although apparently by mistake, to Father De Gonnelieu, S. J., which gives our verse thus: "Heureuses les oreilles qui entendent le doux bruit de l'inspiration divine, et qui sont bouchées au bruit confus de ce monde!" The mistaken ascription to De Gonnelieu appears to have arisen from the title-page of a translation published at Paris in 1727: "De l'Imitation de Jesus-Christ, avec une pratique et une prière à la fin de chaque chapitre, par le P. de Gonnelieu." As in the case of the careless "par" in the 1552 edition noticed above, we should refer the "par" in this 1727 volume to the practice and prayer following each chapter, and not to the translation itself. Some editions of Challoner's translation add these pious practices and prayers in an English translation, and credit them to Father De Gonnelieu. The French translation of the "Imitation," often ascribed in its later editions to De Gonnelieu, was really that of J. Cusson, "imprimeur et avocat au Parlement," which first appeared in 1673. An edition was issued at Nancy by his son, J.-B. Cusson, in 1712, with the "practices and prayers" ascribed (not in the title-page, but in the dedication to the Duchess of Lorraine) to De Gonnelieu.

VII.

It does not seem easy to account for a peculiar view of "vena" which is set forth in two translations that have fallen under my eye. The Civiltà Cattolica press issued (Rome, 1863) a translation which a note on the reverse of the title-page says was based on the Tuscan version printed at Florence in 1522. This early version, "corrected by Prof. Marcantonio Parenti,"[37] gives us the following rendering

[36] "What then is the high authority vested in the manuscript of 1441? It is two-fold: the MS. affords the most decisive proof of Thomas à Kempis' claim to the authorship, and furnishes the best text of the work." Thus the preface (p. 11) of Ruelens to Elliot Stock's facsimile reproduction of the autograph.

[37] I suppose that Parenti limited his attention to a faithful reproduction of the original Italian text. On the reverse of the title-page we read: "Questa edizione esempla l'antico volgarizzamento toscano stampato in Firenze il 1522, e ridotto a corretta lezione dal Prof. Marcantonio Parenti." The same rendering ("Beati gli orecchi, i quali odono il principio del parlare spirituale") is given in: "Opere Complete del Ven. Tommaso da Kempis, canonico regolare, volgarizzati del Prof. D. Salvatore di Pietro-Puglisi. Torino: Cav. Pietro Marietti. Tipog. Pontif. ed. Arciv. 1873." We have therefore a very early and a fairly recent agreement on "Il principio del parlare spirituale" as a good interpretation of "venas divini susurri!"

of our verse: "Beati gli orecchi i quali odono il principio del parlare spirituale, e che niente odono del parlare mondano." Here, then, "vena" is interpreted as the beginning (principio) of the spiritual speaking of God (divinus susurrus), so that those ears are declared blessed that hear the very first sound of the divine whisper. How did the early Italian interpreter come upon this idea? It anticipates by more than a century the similar French translation of Father Antoine Girard, S. J., which obtained a wide vogue in its day. It was first issued at Paris in 1641, and by the year 1771 had attained some fifty editions. The edition lying before me (Paris, 1652) is marked as the 3rd and has for title: "Les IV. Livres de L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ. Reveu et corrigé de nouveau, par le P. Antoine Girard, de la Compagnie de Jésus." It renders our verse thus: "Heureuse l'oreille qui s'ouvre à l'abord de l'inspiration divine, et se serme à la veuë de toutes les vanitez du monde!" Here, as also in the Italian version, "venas" goes without a direct translation. But there is an obvious suggestion of promptness, as though vena should be interpreted as the beginning or fountain-head of the whisper. And the ears therefore are called blessed that are opened to the very first whisperings of the divine voice. Again we have the idea of the "principio" of the Italian interpreter in the year 1522.

VIII.

Closely related to the thought implied in the "principio" of the Italian version and the "abord" of the French, are the renderings in French, Italian and Spanish, which combine the words "venas . . . suscipiunt" into the one idea of attentiveness. The ears that are "attentive," or "always attentive," or "alert," or "active," will indeed perceive the first approach, the very beginning of the divine whisper. The version attributed to the Abbé F. de Lamennais[38] has "always attentive:" "Heureuses les oreilles toujours attentives à recueillir ce souffle divin, et sourdes aux bruits du monde!"

Similar to this is the rendering of the Abbé de Bellegarde, in his

[38] Van Gorp, in his preface to his revised and amended edition of the Abbé Petetin's version (new edition, Desclée & Cie., 1909,) refers to three French translations in particular. As all three are considered in this article, his words are of interest: "There are many translations into French. Two of them have had a great vogue. Mgr. Darboy, in his preface to the "Imitation," utters his appreciation of them in these words: 'The translation that bears the name of Gonnelieu, and which is not by him, has but very little merit.' The translation of Lamennais passes for a counterfeit of that of Father Lallemant; the word is harsh, and seems exaggerated. There is this much truth in the matter, namely, that it is not without defect, and may be said to be inferior to his reputation." A similar estimate is quoted from Mgr. Puyol (p. xiv. of Van Gorp's preface.)

revised and corrected edition (Tournai, 1885): "Heureuses les oreilles toujours attentives a cette voix divine, et toujours fermées aux bruits du monde." This translation gives "voix," whereas the previous one gives "souffle." Both avoid rendering the "venas."

The "always" is retained in a Spanish rendering issued as late as the year 1912 ("La Imitacion . . . traducida . . . bajo la direccion de D. José Salamero y Martinez, Tours, 1912): "Felices los oidos siempre attentos á escuchar esa inspiracion divina . . ." ("Happy the ears which are always attentive to hear this divine inspiration. . . .")

The "always" is omitted, but the "attentive" is retained, in P. Lallemant's rendering ("traduction nouvelle," Paris, 17—): "Heureuses les oreilles qui sont attentives au son de ce langage divin, et tout-à-fait fermées à ce que le monde suggère!" Here we find the colorless word "son" repeated. The "susurrus," the "susurrationes" and the "venae" are absent.

The "always" is similarly omitted from the rendering of Cesare Guasti (Rome, Società di San Giovanni Evangelista, Desclée & Cie., s. d.): "Beate le orecchie che stanno attente al dolce suono delle divine ispirazioni. . . ." Again the "suono," and "langage" becomes "ispirazioni."

Readiness and alertness, equivalent to attentiveness, are found respectively in two Spanish translations. In one we have "pronto:" "Bienaventurados los oidos prontos á los secretos divinos, y sordos á la delacion mundana" ("Happy the ears which are in readiness for the divine secrets, and deaf to earthly accusation.") In the other, we have "listo:" "Benditos los oidas listos a reciber los hondas divinas y que desprecian el zumbido clandestino del mundo" ("Blessed the ears that are alert to receive the divine whispers and despise the clandestine whisperings of the world.")

IX.

Another favorite evasion of the "vena" is found in the renderings which, under various disguises and with varying adjuncts of phrase, give us the idea of "breath" or "breathing," "wind" or "zephyr" (of God's speech to the soul.)

It may especially interest American readers to learn of a translation into German, published at Lancaster, Pa., in 1810—five years after the "first American edition" of Challoner's version had been issued in Philadelphia by Carey. It is entitled: "Thomas von Kempen . . . nach dem Lateinischen Exemplar RR. PP. Henrici Sommalii und Heriberti Rosweidi, Soc. Jesu, zu mehrerem Nutzen in die Deutsche Sprach uebersetzt." Our verse is thus rendered: "Selig sind die Ohren die den lieblichen Wind der goettlichen Einge-

bung aufnehmen und auf das Liebkosen dieser Welt nicht merken" ("Happy are the ears that receive the sweet zephyr of the divine inspiration and heed not the caressing of this world.") This edition was "gedruckt bey Wm. Hamilton & Co." Another edition, "mit Erlaubniss der Obern," was issued in the same year at Lancaster by Jos. Ehrenfried. The text is almost the same as the preceding. It has "so den lieblichen" for "die den lieblichen" and omits "auf" before "das." The "Wind," however, remains unchanged as a rendering of "vena."

A translation into German by J. B. Weigl, edited by Magnus Jocham (Pustet & Co., 1853) has "gentle breath" ("leisen Hauch:") "Selig sind die Ohren, welche den leisen Hauch der goettlichen Eingebung aufnehmen. . . ." This remains unchanged in the Weigl-Schlegelmann edition (Pustet.)

Another German version is that of P. Hasslacher, S. J. (Kreuzer Bros'. edition:) "Selig die Ohren, welche horchen auf den Hauch des goettlichen Saeuselns und die fluesternde Stimmen dieser Welt nich hoeren!" ("Blessed the ears that hearken to the breath of the divine whispering and hear not the whispering voices of this world.")

The Johannes Schaefer-Steyl edition gives us "breathing" or "blowing:" "Selig die Ohren, welche das leise Wehen des goettlichen Hauches vernehmen und von den Einfluesterungen dieser Welt nichts merken" ("Happy the ears which receive the soft blowing of the divine breath and heed naught of the whisperings of this world.")

The "Wehen" or "blowing" or quiet drifting of a sound is not a recent idea for the "vena." I find it in an eighteenth century volume ("Das Buch von der Nachfolgung Christi. Neu uebersetzt . . . von J. M. Sailer. Zweite, durchaus verbesserte und vermehrte Ausgabe," Munich, 1799:) "Selig die Ohren, die das leise Wehen des goettlichen Geistes vernehmen, und von dem wilden Geraeusche dieser Welt nichts hoeren!" ("Happy the ears which receive the soft blowing of the divine Spirit and hear naught of the rude noise of this world.")

Two very recent French translations give the same suggestion for "vena." In 1909, Desclée & Cie. issued the Abbé Petetin's translation (a new edition, revised and amended by J. Van Gorp, S. J.,)[39] with our verse rendered thus: "Heureuses les oreilles qui

[39] In his quite extended preface, Father Van Gorp praises the version of the Abbé Petetin for its correc ness, its eloquence, its faithfulness, but inasmuch as it was made from the faulty Arona codex, a revision was necessary. Some space is given in the preface to unfavorable comment on two popular French translations. Altogether, a reader might expect a more faithful rendering of our puzzling verse than this revised and amended translation offers!

recueillent le léger murmure du souffle divin (Job iv., 12,) et ne prêtent nulle attention aux bruits du monde!" Here there is a mixture of phraseology, a paraphrase that keeps one guessing just as to what part "vena" plays. We have "the soft murmur of the divine breath" for "venas divini susurri," in which we may surmise that "vena" indicates a soft murmur, and "susurrus" indicates a breath.

The latest French translation of which I am aware is found in the volume by P. Dumas entitled: "Introduction à l'union intime avec Dieu" (Paris, 4th edition, 1916.) Its 555 pages are devoted to an attempt to methodize the scattering teachings of the "Imitation," or (perhaps better stated) to show that the "Imitation" is in reality a methodically planned book of asceticism.[40] Our verse appears there (p. 250:) "Heureuses les oreilles qui perçoivent le souffle du murmure divin, et ne donnent nulle attention aux chuchotements de ce monde!" Here we have "le souffle du murmure divin," which is exactly the reverse of the rendering previously noted, "le léger murmure du souffle divin." The reader can have his choice—either "the murmur of the divine breath" or "the breath of the divine murmur."

X.

Before concluding our examination of translations into other tongues than English by a consideration of two old versions into Spanish, it may be desirable to place promiscuously here some renderings of our verse which will not fit easily into any specified category of meaning.

A translation of the "Imitation" into German for the use of "evangelical" Christians was published (Leipzig-Berlin, 1845) by (pardon the length of name and title!) Dr. August Ludwig Gottlob Krehl, Universitaetspraediger und Professor der Theologie zu Leipzig. Our verse is thus rendered: "Selig sind die Ohren, die das leise Gefluester Gottes vernehmen, und auf das Geschwaetz der Welt nicht achten." Vena here appears to account for the adjective "soft."

A stereotyped edition issued by Wildermann in New York gives us for our verse: "Selig sind die Ohren, welche die leisen Einspre-

[40] Lovers of the "Imitation" would probably enjoy the reading of this volume. In treating of our verse, the author speaks of the "parole de la bouche de Dieu" as not being the brilliant and powerful tones of the heavens, but rather "le frémissement du murmure divin (Job iv., 12.") In his rendering of our verse (which immediately follows) he is therefore not merely aware of its ultimate source in Job, but is attempting to interpret both the strange "venas susurri ejus" of the Vulgate and the "venas susurri divini" of à Kempis. But, as I shall hope to show in a succeeding article, the two things are very different.

chungen Gottes vernehmen, aud das Geraeusch dieser Welt nicht Acht haben." Venas divini susurri is here made equivalent to the soft inspirations of God (die leisen Einsprechungen Gottes)—where once again the "vena" appears to suggest the idea of softness.

In a French rendering of our verse published in the Panthéon Littéraire (Paris, Desrey, 1835?) we find "vena" apparently suggesting a further implication of "sound" (the many uses of which for "vena" we have already considered.) Here we find "impressions"—possibly the resulting vibratory impressions which a sound makes upon the tympanum of the ear: "Heureuses les oreilles qui reçoivent les impressions de l'inspiration divine. . . ."

A translation of the "Imitation" into Dutch, edited by Joseph, Ritter von Fuehrich (Doesburg, s. d.,) renders our verse as follows: "Zalig zijn de ooren, welke de stem van der goddelijken Geest vernemen, en niet achten op de toefluisteringen dezer wereld," which (not without some misgivings) I venture to translate into: "Happy are the ears which receive the voice of the divine Spirit, and heed naught of the whisperings of this world."

A poetical translation can not be looked to, of course, for rigid interpretations of the Latin original. It can, however, reproduce the spirit of the original; and Corneille's version into French, famous adown the years, should be consulted. There have been many editions of it, the one from which the following extract was made having the Latin text of à Kempis printed concurrently (but at the bottom of the page) with the French verses. The first part of Book Three, chapter one, is thus rendered:

> Je prêterai l'oreille à cette voix secrète
> Par qui le Tout-Puissant s'explique au fond du coeur;
> Je la veux écouter, cette aimable interprète
> De ce qu'à ses élus demande le Seigneur.
> Oh, qu'heureuse est une âme alors qu'elle l'écoute,
> Qu'elle devient savante à marcher dans sa route!
> Qu'elle amasse de force à l'entendre parler!
> Et que dans ses malheurs son bonheur est extrême
> Quand de la bouche de Dieu même
> Sa misère reçoit de quoi se consoler!

Such is the complete first paragraph. Verses five and six apparently are intended by the great French poet as a free interpretation of our puzzling Latin verse of the "Imitation." One would think that a poet's imagination might well take fire at the mysticism and the poetry embodied in the phrase, "the veins of the divine whisper;" and yet neither the veins nor the whisper succeeded in

centering Corneille's thought in the magical words. His thought and expression are alike prosy enough.

Corneille dedicated his long translation to Pope Alexander VII. In his preface, he declares that he sought only to present the character and the simplicity of the Author in French verse. Obviously, the character and the simplicity are best presented in a simple prose translation. The French hexameter verse is undeniably stiff and, above all, conventional in form. It cannot add a feather to "the short, quivering sentences" that, like a winged barb, find their way straight to one's heart and conscience. Corneille's motive was doubtless one of piety. The legend that the work was imposed upon him as a penance for writing some objectionable verse is destroyed, says his editor, by the fact that such verse was wrongly attributed to him, and should have been ascribed to a certain Cantenac.

XI.

Two of the translations into Spanish are of notable interest because of the fame of their authors. Father Nieremberg (Juan Eusebio Nieremberg y Otin,) S. J., born at Madrid in 1595, was a noted theologian, a Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholar, the author of seventy-three printed and eleven manuscript works. His ascetical works were translated into French, and some of them into Arabic. At the Collegio Imperial of Madrid he taught Sacred Scripture for three years, and it would therefore seem probable that he was aware of the origin in the Book of Job (iv., 12) as translated by St. Jerome into Latin, of the "venas susurri" of the "Imitation," and that his knowledge of Hebrew had acquainted him with the current interpretations given to the curious expression as a rendering of the Hebrew word "shemets." His translation of the "Imitation" (De la Imitacion de Christo y Menosprecio del Mundo) was issued in various editions, the one now before me bearing a Madrid imprint dated as late as 1803. This "new" translation renders "venas divini susurri" into "lo sutil de las inspiraciones divinas"—"the subtle fineness of the divine inspirations." His rendering is beautifully intelligible and quite appropriate to the context; but the antithesis of "susurri" in the first hemistich with "susurrationibus" in the second is unfortunately lost, and an interpretation takes the place of a simple translation: "Bienaventurados los oidos que perciben lo sutil de las inspiraciones divinas, y no cuidan de las murmuraciones mundanas"—"Blessed are the ears that perceive the subtle fineness of the divine inspirations, and heed not the murmurings of the world."

In many respects this translation follows the expressions

previously employed by Louis of Granada, the saintly Dominican theologian, writer and preacher, who died at Lisbon in 1588, that is, a few years before the birth of Father Nieremberg. He was, like Fr. Nieremberg, a Scripture scholar, and the author of works on many subjects. His ascetical writings, however, have given him the greatest fame. The best known of them is "The Sinner's Guide" (La Guia de Pecadores), esteemed as comparable with the "Imitation" itself. His translation of the latter work is entitled: "Contemptus mundi, o menosprecio del mundo y imitacion de Cristo." While the work contains some Scriptural references, I find none to Job in our chapter of the "Imitation." His rendering of our verse is: "Bienaventuradas las orejas que reciben en si las sutiles inspiraciones divinas, y no curan de las murmuraciones mundanas" ("Happy the ears that receive into them the subtle divine inspirations, and heed not worldly murmurings.") Father Nieremberg replaced "las sutiles inspiraciones" by the simple "lo sutil."

It is interesting to find a goodly portion of the "Avertissement" prefixed by Le Sieur de Beuil to his translation of the "Imitation," and probably written by Le Maistre de Sacy himself, given over to a description of the high esteem in which Fray Luis de Granada held the work of Thomas à Kempis: "Father Louis, of Granada, so renowned for his ascetical writings, thought so highly of this work that he translated it himself into Spanish, with a splendid eulogy prefixed to it, in which he says, among other things: 'May we find in this book remedies for all the ills of the soul; a hidden manna wherein we taste all kinds of spiritual delights; an admirable illumination that shows us how to know ourselves and to render to God the worship and adoration which we owe to Him; and, finally, the science of salvation, which teaches us to live and to die as true Christians.' And he adds: 'Be the praise given to this book what it may, those who will consider it in a spirit of piety will say, after reading it, what the Queen of Saba said after witnessing the glory of Solomon: "Major est sapientia tua et opera tua, quam rumor quem audivi"—"Thy wisdom and thy works exceed the fame which I heard" (III. Kings x.' ")

Let us leave Louis of Granada as he thus extols the work of Thomas of Kempen—one saintly pen praising the labors of another. "Sinamus sanctum de sancto scribere," as the Angelical said on finding the Seraphic Doctor writing the life of St. Francis of Assisi.

XII.

In a preceding paper on "The Veins of the Divine Whisper," a number of English renderings of the baffling verse were brought

together merely to afford a brief conspectus of some of the variant translations an English reader might consult in vain for enlightenment. In the present paper, a broader view of the difficulty has been obtained. It seems clear that the verse remains unto all men a puzzle to the present day.

Most of the translators, whether into English or into foreign tongues, appear to have been unaware that the expression "venas susurri" was Scriptural in origin. Those who gave evidence of a knowledge that it was to be found in the Vulgate Latin of Job (iv., 12) did not therefore find a common solution of the problem. To the learned student of the "Imitation," Dr. Bigg, venae meant "runlets;" to the equally learned Dr. Cruise, "accents;" to Dr. Srawley, "pulses;" to the Italian translator (1767,) "the sweet murmur." To the Abbé Petetin the phrase meant "the soft murmur of the divine breath;" to Père Dumas it meant the reverse of this, "the breath of the divine murmur." To Father Thaddeus, who has furnished English readers with the most thoughtfully executed translation of which I am aware, the phrase meant "at least a faint sound of the divine whisper." I need not multiply illustrations of the obvious disagreements even among those translators who were plainly cognizant of the Hieronymian phrase.

We are thus led back to St. Jerome's translation of the Hebrew text of the Book of Job, which should be consulted even though (if we may judge from the discordant experience of the translators of the "Imitation") it hold out little promise of helpfulness towards an elucidation of our verse. This task must be relegated to a future article.

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THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ARABIC CHARACTERS.

THE printers of the fifteenth century issued books in more than twenty different languages. The Serbs as well as the Swedes, the Hungarians as well as the Bretons, were supplied with books printed in their native tongue. The productions of the press in the beginning of the sixteenth century mark a still greater increase of this linguistic variety. Even the Oriental languages were propagated by the Occidental printers. More than a hundred different Hebrew and Aramaic books were printed in the fifteenth century. In 1513 both the first Armenian and the first Ethiopian books appeared in print. In the year following the first book in Arabic characters was edited.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE ARABIAN LANGUAGE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

Arabic, in fact, had not been an unknown language during the Middle Ages. The Moslems had encircled the Christian people like a ring of iron. Only a few missionaries and enterprising merchants had during several centuries ventured to break through this Moslem barrier. Three causes naturally conspired, each one in itself sufficient, to compel mediæval people to master the Arabian language—political and commercial intercourse, missionary zeal and scientific studies.

1. History records the friendly embassies sent in 801 and 802 by the Calif Harun ar-Rashid to Charles the Great. Gifts were exchanged between the great Emperor of the West and the renowned Calif of the East. Charles the Great sent ambassadors to the Moslem courts of Syria, Egypt, Africa and Spain to obtain favors for the Christians living under Moslem rule. This political intercourse of Charles the Great with the rulers of the East could be secured only by a knowledge of the Arabian language. The numerous and various relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Christian and Moslem rulers made the study of Arabic always imperative during the Middle Ages.

After the conquest of Sicily and its resultant liberation from Moslem domination in 1087, the victorious Norman kings continued to issue coins with Arabic legends, to couch their official documents in Arabic, to decorate their palaces with Arabic inscriptions and to have the Moslems judged by their *cadis* according to their Moslem law. Later on Emperor Frederic II. (d. 1250 A. D.), himself an Arabic scholar, appointed professors at the University of Salerno who could instruct the Jews, Moslems and Greeks of his southern dominion in their respective native tongues.

In the ninth century the clergy in Spain went beyond the proper bounds in their cultivation of the study of Moslem literature. In

the middle of the ninth century Paul Alvarus, a Spanish writer, complained that among thousands of priests hardly one could be found who knew sufficient Latin to be able to write a Latin letter to a brother-priest, though all of them possessed a perfect knowledge of Arabic.

The crusaders to the Holy Land could not dispense with a certain amount of Arabic expressions. Yet from the thirteenth century the Dominican Order supplied all crusaders in Syria and Egypt with interpreters, while the Sons of St. Francis performed this charitable work for the crusaders in Palestine.[1]

The extensive trade carried on with the Moslems in Europe and the Levant compelled the different merchants to acquire a knowledge of Arabic. Together with the merchandise, they imported into Europe the Arabic denominations of many goods. Not a few of these Arabic names still survive in modern languages. Coffee, cotton, orange, sirup, elixir, saffron, sugar, lute, atlas, muslin, all these are words borrowed from Arabic.

2. Missionary zeal always called for the study of the Arabian language. Many theologians of the Middle Ages made a study of the Koran and wrote refutations of Mohammedanism. St. John of Damascus (d. about 754) was the first Christian apologist against Islam. For a long time he had held a public office in the Califate and had been conversant with Arabic language and Arabic literature. His treatises against the Moslems are based on a first-hand knowledge of the Law of Mohammed. Written in Greek, they were intended not so much to make converts as to confirm the Christians in their faith. Theodore Abucara (d. about 820), a disciple of John of Damascus, defended the Christian religion against Moslemism in works written both in Greek and in Arabic. No less than ten different books in Arabic are known to exist of which he is the author. Abucara, to all appearance, is the earliest apologist against Islamism who wrote in Arabic.[2]

The West had come last in contact with the Moslems, and occidental theologians had taken up last the literary defense of the Christian religion against the followers of the Koran. Henceforth Latin refutations of the "Law of the Prophet" ran parallel with such written in Oriental languages. The adoptionist Felix, Bishop of Urgel (d. 816 A. D.), composed the earliest Latin apology of this kind, entitled "Disputation with a Saracen," soon to be followed by the "Treatise Against the Koran or Law of the Saracens,"

[1] Weiss. Weltgeschichte, IV., p. 419; V.; pp. 266, 521 sq., 548, 573, 770. Lecoy de la Marche, Le Treiziéme Siècle; Tournai, 1894; p. 36.

[2] Palmieri, Polemik des Islam; Salzburg, 1902; pp. 16-19. Graf, Die christlich-arabische Literatur; Freiburg, 1905; pp. 31-37. Steinschneider, Polemische und apologetische Literat.; Lips, 1877; pp. 80-82.

written by the Spanish Abbot Spera-in-Deo towards the middle of the ninth century. These apologists had studied Islamism from original sources. It was the time when the Spanish clergy were better versed in Arabic than in Latin. Unfortunately both apologies are lost.[3]

Mediæval polemics against Moslemism received its strongest impetus in the twelfth century from the different Latin translations of the Koran. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, noted with deep sorrow the apathy and listlessness of the Spanish Christians of those days who neglected golden opportunities for the conversion of the Moslems. Attributing this indolence principally to their ignorance of Moslem teaching, he resolved to remove this obstacle. Competent scholars were set to work at translating some doctrinal works from Arabic into Latin. In 1143 the Koran was rendered into Latin by an Englishman, Robert Retinensis or Ketenensis, Archdeacon of Pamplona, and this Latin Koran was extensively studied and in use throughout the Middle Ages. It is still extant in a number of manuscripts and was printed three times (Basel, 1550 and 1643, and s. l. et a.) At the same time Peter of Toledo translated for Peter the Venerable an anonymous apology of the Christian religion against Moslemism from Arabic into Latin. Herman Dalmata was the third scholar who was employed in the service of Peter the Venerable. He rendered three works from Arabic into Latin, treating of the doctrine and history of the Moslems. These sources made accessible in Latin translations were largely drawn upon by mediæval scholars.

Soon after Marcus, a canon of Toledo, made a new translation of the Koran, and this rendition must be still attributed to the twelfth century. Although it is an improvement on the earlier translation, yet it never gained the popularity of Robert's rendering. Only a few manuscript copies of it are preserved in the public libraries of Paris, Turin and Vienna. It was never printed.[4]

It is an undisputed fact that the introduction of the Koran into Latin literature gave renewed vigor to missionary activity among Moslems. We read of some remarkable conversions in the twelfth century brought about by the preaching of the Gospel in Arabic. The thirteenth century created a most momentous missionary movement along this line. The Popes Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Clement IV. and Honorius IV. (1243-1287) encouraged and promoted the study of the Arabian language at the University of Paris

[3] Fabricius, Delectus et Syllabus scriptorum; Hamburg, 1725; p. 736. Fabricius-Mansi, Bibliotheca latina, III.; Florent, 1858; p. 496.

[4] Steinschneider, Polem., Lit., pp. 227-234, 419. Steinschneider, Europaiesche Uebersetz, aus d. Arabischen I.; Vienna, 1904; pp. 33, 54, 59, 67. Fabricius, Delectus pp. 264-265.

for missionary purposes. The plans of these Popes were better realized by the rising mendicant orders, notably by the Dominicans. St. Raymond of Pennaforte (d. 1275) established schools in several Dominican monasteries, where certain brethren were taught Arabic to qualify themselves for missionary work among the Saracens. The first one of these was opened as early as 1250, probably at Seville; similar schools were subsequently conducted in the Dominican convents of Barcelona (1259), Valencia (1281) and Xativa (1291). The most famous of all were two, erected (about 1265) in the very centres of Moslemism—those of Murcia and Tunis. More than ten thousand Mohammedans were converted in the course of the thirteenth century by twenty Dominicans who had been educated in these missionary seminaries.

The foremost of these Dominican missionaries is Raymond Martini (d. after 1284). His disputations with the Moslems gained many converts. He wrote a work, "Pugio Fidei," which for centuries was destined to remain the standard apology against Islamism. His summa against the Saracens, originally written in Arabic, is lost. Yet Blessed Raymond Lullus (d. 1315), a Franciscan tertiary, eclipsed all missionaries laboring for the conversion of the Moslems. In 1275 he induced King James of Aragon to found a "Missionary College of Friars Minor at Miramir (on the island of Majorca) for the study of Arabic." Thirteen Franciscan friars were first assigned to this study. This college obtained a bull of confirmation from Pope John XXI., but unfortunately perished before the death of Lullus. Being an excellent Arabic scholar himself, Lullus entered into controversies with the Mohammedan doctors of Tunis, wrote catechetical and controversial treatises in Arabic which have all perished. One of them was entitled "Alchindi y Teliph." Another, bearing the title of "Disputations Between Raymond the Christian and the Saracen Omar in Bugia" (now Bougie, Algeria) is preserved in a Latin translation made in 1308 from Arabic by Lullus himself and printed at Valencia in 1510. It is a very rare edition of 200 pages in quarto.

Beginning with the fourteenth century, the leading universities commenced to take a livelier interest in the study of Arabic. King Alfonso the Wise had already conceived the plan of giving a wide scope to the Arabic studies and in 1254 granted a charter for a university at Seville for the study of Latin and Arabic, and as such it was given official recognition in 1260 by Alexander IV. Whether the school ever existed except on paper only, we do not know. Later Raymond Lullus spent many years traveling in Europe, rousing the interest in Moslem missions and Oriental studies to such an extent that in 1311 Pope Clement V. reënacted the canons regard-

ing the study of Arabic. He ordained that two professors of Arabic were to be appointed at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca and that of the Roman Curia. This decree was put into execution to a greater extent than is commonly supposed. We have evidence of the existence of Arabic lectures at Salamanca as late as the year 1411. At the University of the Roman Curia this canon was complied with better than at some of the other universities mentioned. At all events, the professors were appointed and drew their salaries at that university. The objects of the measure were purely missionary. The Arabic studies were to further the conversion of the Moslems.

The mendicant friars continued their missionary activities among the Mohammedans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Accordingly, missionaries had to be trained conversant with and able to speak Arabic. The Trinitarians and Mercedarians likewise could not dispense with a knowledge of Arabic while performing their charitable work of ransoming the Christian slaves from the Moslems.[5]

3. Purely scientific objects gave rise to Arabic studies, and mediæval science received a considerable impetus by good use made of Moslem erudition. By and by Arabian philosophy, astronomy, algebra, geometry, chemistry, medicine, geography and physics were made accessible to Western scholars in translations from the Arabic. The names of at least seventy-four Christians and of seventeen or eighteen Jews are known who from 1050 A. D. to 1510 A. D. acted as interpreters of Moslem science. During this period the former made two hundred and seventy translations from Arabic into Latin, four into Spanish, two into Greek and one into Italian, whilst the latter compiled only thirty-one translations from Arabic into Latin, Spanish and Italian. To these must be added two hundred and thirty-eight Latin and three Spanish translations from Arabic made by anonymous Arabic scholars before 1510. These figures are taken from the work of the late M. Steinschneider,[6] which embodies the results of a lifelong research and compiles the most complete list of translations from Arabic made during the Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, new researches will raise these figures somewhat. Steinschneider himself mentions the names of ten Christian and two Jewish scholars of whom it still remains uncertain whether they ever made translations from Arabic. Moreover,

[5] Laughorst in Stimmen a Maria Laach, XIX., pp. 56, 60, 63. Werner, Thomas v. Aquin I., pp. 601, 622; Steinschneider, Polem. Lit., p. 136. Cave, Scriptor Ecclesiast. Appendix, p. 4. Rashdall, Universities of Europe, Vol. II., Part 1, Oxford, 1895, pp. 30, 80, 82 96.

[6] Europaesche Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen, two volumes; Vienna, 1904-1905.

forty-two translations from Arabic are set down by Steinschneider as being of more or less doubtful existence, while some others have perished.

The centres of this translatory activity were first Christian Spain, later Italy, and to some extent Palestine. Previous to the time of Gerbert (Sylvester II., d. 1003) translations of Arabic writings had been in circulation in Christian Spain. But neither these nor most of their authors' names have come down to us. The first translator whose name is known and whose translations are still extant is Constantine Africanus, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino (d. 1085 A. D.) He had commenced this literary work about the year 1050 A. D., and in the course of time made twenty-one translations. But the most prolific scholar in this field of literary activity was Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187 A. D.), ranking first with eighty-two translations. On the whole, the twelfth century marks the golden age of this particular branch of literature. Raimond, Archbishop of Toledo (1130-1150 A. D.), proved to be a liberal patron to these translators, thereby setting an example to some of the European rulers. Emperor Frederic II. (d. 1250) and his son Manfred, King of Sicily (d. 1266), patronized these interpreters in Italy, while Alphons X., King of Castile (d. 1284) espoused their cause in Spain.[7] But the translators themselves were recruited from various countries. Among the seventy-four known Christian interpreters we find twenty-six Italians, seventeen Spaniards, six Englishmen, four Frenchmen, two Germans, one Byzantine, six natives of the East, while the nationality of twelve still remains unknown. The numerical preponderance of the Christian over the Jewish translators as revealed by modern research invalidates an historical statement of long standing. As late as the year 1902 Edw. G. Browne[8] wrote: "The first translations from the Arabic into European languages were made about the beginning of the twelfth century of our era by Jews and Moors converted to Christianity, who were soon followed by native Europeans," but the first translators were Christians and no Jews: the first translations date from the tenth and not from the twelfth century. On the whole, the Jews played only a secondary part as translators into Latin. Gerard of Cremona alone made more translations than all Jews in cumulo.

Side by side with the translators we meet with Christian Arabists of a different type, namely, those mediæval men of learning who studied the Arabian authors in the original, laying them under contribution while composing their Latin works. They never trans-

[7] Duhem in Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII., 48 sq.
[8] Literary History of Persia, I., 39-40.

lated an entire book from Arabic, although they incorporated long quotations from such into their scientific researches. In 1273 William of Tripolis, a Dominican, compiled from sources written in Arabic a Latin history of Mohammed and the Mohammedans. In 1184 William of Tyre finished his Latin history, covering the period from the time of Mohammed till the year 1104 A. D., based on the original Arabic sources, principally the history of Said ibn Batrik. The name of several other scholars are recorded, but unfortunately there does not as yet exist a detailed history of these Christian Arabists. We are, therefore, at a loss to give anything like a complete list of them. It will take, perhaps, a long time till we are as accurately informed about these Oriental scholars as about the translators mentioned above.

Still a third class of Christian Arabists must be distinguished, comprising the teachers or promoters of Arabic at the various mediæval centres of learning. Their objects were purely scientific, neither missionary nor ecclesiastical. Their studies were intended and calculated to promote learning only. At the University of Paris the Canon Odon of Saint Denis was the foremost promoter of the study of Arabic in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Pope Honorius IV., who, more than any other, favored this linguistic study, praised him highly for his zeal. Roger Bacon (d. 1294) deployed an untiring activity in the interest of the study of Oriental languages at the Oxford University. Himself a distinguished Arabist, he used his great influence with Pope Clement IV. to further the study of Arabic. The courts of King Alphons X. of Castile (d. 1284), Emperor Frederick II. (d. 1250) and King Manfred of Sicily (d. 1266) were veritable seats of learning where Christians, Moslems and Jews were employed to spread the acquaintance with Arabic language and literature. William Raymond of Moncada, called Mithridates, after the fashion of the humanists, was appointed in 1484 professor of Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldaic and Greek at the University of Cologne. He was a Jew, but became a Catholic in 1467. The University of Cologne shares the unique distinction of having established in any of the European universities the first professorship of Arabic for purely scientific purposes. But this laudable effort did not meet with any great measure of success, for after Mithridates the vacancy created was not filled. Arabic philology was not to find a permanent place in the curriculum of European universities until the establishment of the Collège de France at Paris in 1530 by King Francis V. Pedro de Alcala, a monk of the order of Hieronymites, published the earliest Arabic grammar and dictionary in 1505, both ranking as landmarks of Semitic philology. There had been a demand for

literary helps of this kind in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The simple fact that Pedro's Arabic grammar and vocabulary were printed discloses the great interest taken in mastering the Arabian language in that country. Indeed, Arabic was better known during the Middle Ages than is generally supposed.[9]

FIRST EXPERIMENTS OF THE PRINTING ARABIC (1486-1514.)

The invention of printing and the subsequent diffusion of literature were instrumental in spreading the results of Moslem science. The old Latin translations of the Arabian authors were soon printed, some passing through many editions in the course of the fifteenth century. Moslem philosophy and natural science were studied with renewed vigor from these Latin editions. Popular science written in the vernacular made the common people familiar with the wisdom of the East. Arabic technical terms like cipher, zero, zenith, nadir, magazine, almanac, elixir, alcohol, alcove became household words to the average man. The names of the great Moslem scientists were well known to the readers of the astrological and alchemical tracts spread broadcast among the common people. Moslem science was discussed at the firesides of the peasants. Yet the original Arabic text of the Moslem authors was not printed during the fifteenth century. We meet, however, with the earliest tentative experiments of printing Arabic before the close of that period.

The year 1475 marks the beginning of the printing of Oriental books, for in that year the first Hebrew book was issued from the printer's press. Eleven years later we meet with the earliest specimen of Arabic printing. Pilgrimages to Palestine had constantly kept alive during the Middle Ages the interest in the study of Oriental languages, foremost of Arabic. There exists an extensive literature of these pious peregrinations, both in manuscript and in print. The "Pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Christ" by Bernhard of Breitenbach shares the unique distinction of being the first printed book containing impressions of various Oriental characters. Breitenbach, a canon of the Cathedral of Mayence, made a visit to the holy sites in 1483 and 1484. Being a man of culture and means, he published in 1486 a Latin edition of his "Holy Pilgrimage" at Mayence. This pious book bespeaks an intimate acquaintance with the Bible. The vivid descriptions of the scenic surroundings of Palestine are interwoven with the corresponding Biblical stories and numerous other Biblical quotations. Artistic woodcuts executed

[9] Steinschneider, Europ. Ueb., p. 81. Lecoy, op. cit., p. 36. Monro, Cyclopaedia of Education, IV., p. 563. Browne, op. cit., p. 40. Janssen, Gesch. d. d. Volkes, I., p. 80.

by Erhard Reuwich enhance its value, giving it a high rank among the illustrated books of those early days and bringing home Scriptural truths to the pious reader. Breitenbach did not overlook nor pass over the Eastern languages. Striking woodcuts of six different Oriental alphabets adorn his book, conveying to the average man of the West a faint idea of Eastern writing. The Arabic alphabet, consisting of 31 letters, comes first, followed by the Hebrew alphabet of 27 characters, together with the Syriac of 27, the Coptic of 32, the Armenian of 35, and finally the Ethiopic or Geez of 47 letters. Beneath each letter its corresponding name is printed. All these Oriental alphabets are not printed with movable types; they are xylographs or block-printings, struck from engraved wooden blocks.

The "Holy Pilgrimage" of the Mayence canon claims, moreover, the attention of the professional Orientalist on account of its Arabic vocabulary. A list of two hundred and twenty-eight Arabic terms with corresponding Latin translation covers two pages. The good canon evidently intended to assist the future traveler by compiling this list of words. The Arabic terms are not printed with Arabic types, but are expressed in Latin characters. The Latin transliteration has this advantage that it gives the pronunciation of Arabic then in vogue. This short Arabic-Latin vocabulary is the first of its kind which has ever been printed.

Breitenbach's "Pilgrimage" became quite a popular book. On February 11, 1486, the first Latin edition was issued and four months later, June 21, 1486, the first German edition was published. Both impressions were edited at Mayence by the same printing firm. Within sixteen years (1485-1502) fifteen different editions appeared at various places and in various languages—four Latin editions, four German, three Dutch, two French, one Spanish and one Italian editions. Twenty-six editions were published from 1503 to 1728, making a sum total of forty-one impressions. This record shows, better than anything else, the great popularity which for more than two centuries Breitenbach's "Pilgrimage" enjoyed.

Nevertheless, this popular book of devotion takes a prominent place in the history of Oriental scholarship. In Europe it spread among all classes an amateur taste for Oriental scripts. These letters have been rudely copied probably more than once. It is to be regretted that these earliest specimens of Oriental printing and this notable contribution to Oriental linguistics are totally overlooked by competent scholars. No history of Oriental scholarship has ever mentioned the linguistic achievements of Canon Breitenbach.

A Hebrew booklet claims our attention next. In 1487 an alphabetical Hebrew dictionary, the "Makre Dardeke," was published at

Naples. It is the first polyglot lexicon ever printed, arranged in such a manner that after every Hebrew term follows an Italian and Arabic translation. The Italian and Arabic words are given in Hebrew transliteration, and the entire booklet is printed from Hebrew types. The "Makre" was composed in 1290 by an unknown scholar. The printed edition comprises seventy-eight leaves in quarto.[10]

In 1499 we come across the earliest specimens of Arabic words printed in Arabic characters. In that year Aldus published at Venice the famous book: "Poliphili Hypnerotomachia" or "Dream of Poliphilus." Its author was the Dominican friar Francesco Colonna. Exquisite woodcuts adorn this "most beautiful book of the Renaissance." The woodcut on fol. 15r represents the Greek and Arabic characters of the inscription, "Labor and Industry." More ambitious still is the woodcut on fol. 64r exhibiting to our eye three inscriptions. The words "Glory to God," "Mother of Love" and "Glory of the world" are successively expressed in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin and printed in the characters of these four languages. All these inscriptions in two and four different languages were not printed from movable types, but they are xylographic impressions or block-printings. A second edition of the "Dream of Poliphilus" appeared at Venice in 1545.[11]

The knowledge of Arabic was diffused at the beginning of the sixteenth century by a school-manual then greatly in use. In 1505 the German humanist Hermann Torrentinus (van der Beek or van Beek), a member of the "Brothers of the Common Life" (d. about 1520), published at Strassburg his "Elucidarius carminum vel vocabularius poeticus." The once popular text-book contains, among other lexicographical matter, a short vocabulary of the most common Arabic terms with their Latin equivalents. The Arabic words are printed in Latin transliteration. The popularity of this manual is attested by the numerous editions. It was reprinted at Hagenau in 1507, 1510 and in 1515; at Strassburg in 1516 and in 1520. Even as late as 1601 it was regarded as "a most necessary text-book" which called for a new edition.

Yet all these attempts at printing Arabic are eclipsed by the aforementioned publication in 1505 of Pedro de Alcala's Arabic grammar and vocabulary. In that year Juan Varela printed at Granada Pedro's celebrated "Arte para legeramente saber la lengua Araviga" and the "Vocabulista Araviga en letra castellana." They

[10] J. B. Rossi, Annales Hebraeo-typogr. saeculi XV.; Parmae, 1795; pp. 60-61, 160. M. Schwab, Les incunables orientaux; Paris, 1883; pp. 37-38. L. Hain, Repertorium bibliogr. III.; Stuttg., 1831; p. 412, n. 11152.

[11] Schwab, op. cit., pp. 10, 48. Hain, op. cit., II., p. 176, n. 5501. Catholic Encycl., XII., p. 367.

form two separate parts of one entire book, which is generally regarded as the first Arabic book printed. But this view cannot be substantiated. It is not the first book in which Arabic occupies considerable space. In this regard the "Makre" takes precedence. Neither is it the first production of Arabic typography, for all Arabic words found in it are expressed in Latin characters. The diacritical signs of the Arabic text are designated in Latin by placing certain points on certain Latin letters. The "Vocabulista" is a quarto of two hundred and eighty pages. It is not only an Arabic vocabulary, but also an Arabic reader, containing among the reading lessons a fragment of an Arabic apologetical treatise against the Moslems, composed about the year 1300 by a European Christian, probably by Blessed Raymond Lullus.[12]

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN ARABIC CHARACTERS (1514).

The first book in Arabic was printed in the year 1514, sixty-nine years after the invention of printing. A long time had to elapse before the printer's art was adapted to Arabic typography. Undoubtedly several causes were instrumental in this retardation. First, the Muslims, the guardians of Arabic language and literature, had no demand for printed books. They were content with their manuscript literature even when European presses had issued numerous Arabic books. It was almost two centuries after the first Arabic work had appeared in print, namely, in 1711, that typography was officially introduced in Muslim countries. But this innovation ran counter to the feelings of the orthodox Muslims, the more so on account of the brushes of pigs-bristles used by the printers. Even nowadays during the liturgical services the Koran is read from beautiful manuscripts. A second cause operating in the same direction was the decadence of the Arabic language among the Muslims of the fifteenth century. In the East Arabic culture was still suffering from the stunning blow struck by the Mongol invasion of 1258 A. D. Among the Muslims in Spain Arabic had become a dead language. In 1462, therefore, Aisa ben Jabar, Muphti of Segovia, saw fit to compile some sort of a Muslim catechism for his Spanish speaking co-religionists who were no more conversant with the language of the Prophet. It was made up of extracts from the Koran and the Sunnite ritual translated into Spanish. Since the Muslims themselves were constrained to employ a foreign language to uphold the Prophet's law in Muslim countries, we cannot expect any great demand for Arabic books

[12] Schnurrer, Bibliotheca Arabica; Halae, 1811; pp. 16-18, n. 37. Zenker, Bibliotheca Orientalis; Leipzig, 1846; n. 46. Schwab, p. 6. Steinschneider, Polem. Lit., p. 225.

among them. There was no need of a quicker mode of production by printing. A third cause of retardation were the enormous obstacles encountered in founding Arabic types. The problem had to be solved of casting types of more bizarre and more twisted shapes than the Gothic types which were then in use. The difficulty of the task was aggravated by the maze of ligatures used in Arabic script. The abbreviations of the Greek text in the earliest Greek editions, where three or four letters are contracted into a single one, convey but a faint idea of these ligatures and involutions, the patterns of the well-known arabesques. This feature of Arabic writing must have proved a big stumbling-block to the engraver of Arabic letters on the matrix. The Hebrew printers had not encountered these difficulties, since Hebrew letters are free from such perplexing interlaced lines and convoluted curves. Neither did similar obstacles in 1513 hamper the printer of Ethiopic. The peculiar configurations of Arabic letters more than anything else were the chief obstacles that had blocked the way to Arabic typography for many years.

The first book printed with movable Arabic types was a brieviary, "Diurnale Graecorum Arabum." It numbers one hundred and eighteen leaves or two hundred and thirty-six pages. The size is small octavo. There are twelve printed lines to a page. The paper is thick. The book is unpaginated, without catchwords and signatures. The title on the front page is printed in red. The text commences on the back of the first leaf with these words, "In the Name of God, the Living," differing from the formula "In the Name of God, the Merciful," used in Moslem books. This invocation is printed in red and black letters, very much in the style of the most elegant breviaries. The text of the first fourteen pages is framed in a double filet of red and black ink, whilst the succeeding pages are decorated with one, entirely in black. Each of the eight canonical hours (Matins and Lauds being two) forms a separate book or section. The margins are embellished by woodcuts of flowers and animals executed in the Renaissance style and printed, unlike many others, contemporaneously with the text. They never show any worm-holes. The Arabic types evince this archaic peculiarity that the ligatures are bad and the diacritical points are sometimes misplaced or daubed. Several copies of this first production of Arabic typography are still extant. There are copies in the National Library of Paris and the Munich Library.

Italy shares the distinction of being the cradle of Arabic typography. The first Arabic printing press was established at Fano, a town situated in the Papal States. The first founder of Arabic types and printer of Arabic was Gregory de Gregoriis, a Venetian,

who on September 12, 1514, completed the first book printed with movable Arabic types. The Arabic breviary was intended for the use of Melchites who speak Arabic and who use Arabic in their liturgical services. They use the Greek rite, but their liturgical language, even to our day, is Arabic.

Arabic typography owes its origin to the liberality of the Popes. The Arabic printing press was established at Fano at the expense of Pope Julius II. (d. Feb. 20, 1513). Gregory de Gregoriis was employed in his service and at his command the Arabic breviary was printed. Julius II. did not live to see this work finished, which was finally published under the auspices of Pope Leo X. on September 12, 1514. It is a common mistake to suppose that the first printed book was a Bible published by order of the Church; this misstatement, however, regarding typography in general is a truth when restricted to Arabic typography. The first book printed is a breviary made up of parts of the Bible and printed by order of the Popes. The Catholic Church has often been criticized for neglect in publishing the Bible in the original texts during the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Wherever there was a real need, the Church always supplied the same. She had not charge of Hebrew and Greek speaking people, but Christians who spoke Arabic. There was no need of Hebrew and Greek Bibles for her children, but of Arabic Bibles or parts of the Bible there was an urgent demand. These she furnished her children in the East with unstinted prodigality. In 1516 the first Arabic Psalter was printed in Genova. The first edition of the Gospels in Arabic was published at Rome in 1590 by the famous Arabic press established by Cardinal Medici and known as the Medicæan Press. The first edition of the complete Bible in Arabic was issued by the Propaganda Press in 1671. These efforts towards spreading the Arabic Bible are all the more remarkable since the Church never has published any Hebrew or Greek Bibles. The Jews published an Arabic Bible for their many Arabic speaking co-religionists, which was printed at Constantinople in 1546 with Hebrew types and quite naturally contained only the books of the Old Testament.[13]

THE ARABIC KORAN BURNT BY THE POPE: A MYTH.

The Popes were the fathers of Arabic typography. Yet this claim is sometimes challenged. A Koran in Arabic is said to have been printed in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Orientalists William Postellus and Theseus Ambrosius are our au-

[13] Schwab, op. cit., pp. 4-8, 12-14, 20. Laire, Specimen typogr. Romanae; Romae, 1778; pp. 13-14, 96-97. Nestle, Urtext u. Uebersetz. d. Bibel; Leipz., 1897; p. 152. Le Long-Masch, Bibliotheca Sacra. II., P. I. Halae, 1790; pp. 118-119.

thorities for its existence. Some time before 1539 Postellus wrote to Theseus Ambrosius: "Continue your inquiries regarding the printer of the Koran in Arabic and try to ascertain whether he is willing to sell his punches or the matrix." Theseus Ambrosius himself informs us in 1539: "I have repeatedly requested Alexander Paganini to sell to Postellus the Punic types and molds with which his father, Paganini Brixiensis, had printed the Koran."[14] According to these explicit testimonies, Paganini Brixiensis printed an Arabic Koran at Venice. The year when this edition should have appeared is not mentioned. The noted Orientalist Erpenius was the first scholar who attempted to settle this matter by placing this Arabic Koran about the year 1530. All later authors accepted this date unreservedly till 1805, when B. de Rossi proved in his dissertation, "De Corane Arabico Venetiis Paganini typis impresso" (Parmae, 1805), that Paganini himself ceased printing in 1518, at which time he was succeeded in his business by his son Alexander. Accordingly, Rossi placed Paganini's Koran to the year 1518 itself or a little before or after. His opinion was generally adopted by the scholars, and ever since we read of a Koran printed in Arabic at Venice in 1518. But this is a gratuitous date. We might just as well place this edition in the earlier years of Paganini's activity, about 1509, as a writer in the "Realencyclopædie" (Vol. VI., Ratisb., 1848, p. 368) proposes, thereby giving this Arabic Koran the honor of being the first book printed in Arabic.[15]

No copy of Paganini's Arabic Koran has ever been found. This fact gave rise to the startling discovery that the entire edition had been destroyed by the order of the Pope. In 1703 the German Protestant scholar John Michael Lang published an academic dissertation ("De alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione arabica," Altorf., 1703), attempting to prove that Pope Clement VII. commanded all copies of Paganini's Arabic Koran to be burnt at the very time of its appearance. This fable readily found credence and the story of this dire fate met by the first Arabic Koran soon became a commonplace of history.[16]

No Pope ever consigned an Arabic Koran to the flames. There never existed a cause demanding such a condemnation. Pope Clement VII., like other Popes, was cognizant of the fact that a book may be harmless at one place and harmful at another. It may be productive of evil at one time and be innocuous at another.

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[14] Theseus Ambrosius, Introductio in Chaldaicam Linguam; Papiae, 1539; fol. 200 v.

[15] Schwab, pp. 10-11. Hallam, Introduct. to the Literat. of Europe, Vol. I.; New York, 1871; pp. 241, 406.

[16] Walch, Bibliotheca Theolog. I.; Jenae, 1757; p. 888 sq. Real Encyclopaedie, VI., 368. Hallam, Introduct. I., pp. 241, 406.

These various aspects of one and the same book may call forth conflicting legal enactments at different times. A striking case in point is the treatment meted out to the Talmud. This law book of the Jews was repeatedly seized or destroyed during the Middle Ages, whenever danger of perversion threatened the Christians. Yet in 1520 the first complete edition was printed with full approval of Pope Leo X. by the Catholic printer, Daniel Bomberg. The publication of the Koran in Arabic would never have been attended by any danger of faith in Europe. Moreover, the destruction of the Koran in Arabic would have missed the mark, because the Moslem law could, nevertheless, be studied in the various translations then circulating in the West. There are still preserved together with one Latin and one Spanish translation of separate Suras three mediæval Latin translations of the entire Koran. The Latin rendering of Robert Retinensis was spread all over Europe in numerous manuscripts, and the various apologies against Moslemism attest its intense and widespread use. In 1547 even an *Italian* translation of the Koran, the second ever printed, was published. Finally the Popes had found no occasion to be hostile to the Arabic Koran, since such an edition never has existed. The rule of demand and supply has always found application in the book trade as well as other business transactions. But we know for a certainty that there was no demand for a printed Arabic Koran at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Moslems abhorred a printed edition of their sacred book, and the Christians of the East did not care for one, then as little as in later centuries. The few Christian Arabists in the West were not yet interested in an edition of the original text of the Koran, their literary labors and pursuits being rather of a theological than philological nature. And, indeed, almost two centuries were to elapse till the first edition of the Koran in the original Arabic was printed at Hamburg, in 1694, after the efforts of eight different Orientalists along these lines had proved abortive. If the Moslems or the Christians of the East had demanded a printed Koran, the enterprising Venetian printers would have published an edition of it as readily as they supplied the Jews, Slavs and Armenians with books printed in their respective languages. Since an edition of the Koran was not in demand, none was ever printed by Paganini. "The best proof in my opinion," writes Mr. M. Schwab (op. cit., pp. 11-12, 22) "that this edition of the Koran in Arabic has never existed is presented when glancing over the list of Oriental books printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. During the period of forty years (1500-1540) no more than nine such books were printed in the various languages of the East, while we can recount more than

ten times as many printed Hebrew books during the last quarter of the fifteenth century." Moreover, these few editions were issued to serve liturgical and Scriptural purposes.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC TYPOGRAPHY (1514-1593.)

The Papal Arabic printing establishment at Fano was of short duration. We do not know if it ever published a book besides the "Diurnale." Laire[17] would attribute to it the undated Arabic edition of Edrisis geography. But this is evidently a later production. In 1516 Peter Paul Porrus printed in Genova the polyglot psalter of Aug. Justiniani in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaic and Arabic. Of the two thousand copies issued, no more than five hundred were sold. Some Arabic words, but apparently cut in wood, were introduced in Wakefield's "Oration" of 1524. Petrus Vidovaeus used Arabic types in 1538, printing at Paris the "Introduction into the different alphabets of twelve different languages" written by William Postellus. The "Samaritanæ Litteræ," which appeared at the same time, contain also a printed Arabic alphabet. A font of Arabic was used by Gromors, another Parisian printer, to print Postellus' "Grammatica Arabica" in 1538 or 1539-1540. These Parisian impressions sometimes received undue encomium. Says E. Browne:[18] "The remarkable scholar William Postellus apparently was the *first* who caused Arabic types to be cut" to print his Arabic grammar. The distinguished Orientalist is totally ignorant of the fact that twenty-five years before the first Arabic types had been cut and used in printing. The "Introduction into the Chaldaic Language" by Theseus Ambrosius, printed at Pavia in 1539 by John M. Simoneta, embodies two different Arabic alphabets, an Arabic text and a short Arabic grammar. The next Arabic press was established in the Jesuit college at Rome, and from this press were issued two small Arabic booklets. The one, "Fidei orthodoxæ professio," was printed in 1566, while the second, "Colloquium spirituale," is undated, but contemporaneous. The author of these two booklets was John Bapt. Elianus, but the printer's name is not known. Again, in 1580, we meet with a new Oriental press in Rome which published a Roman catechism and a "Professio fidei" both in Karshuni or in Arabic printed with Syriac types. Two years later we come across the earliest Arabic press established in Germany, where Matth. Harnisch printed, in the little town of Neustadt on the Hardt, the "Arabic alphabet" or grammar of James Christmann, a quarto of 32 pages. In 1583 James Mueller (Mylius) issued, at Heidelberg, a booklet composed by Ruthger. Spey, containing St.

[17] Specimen, p. 13 sq.

[18] "Literary Hist. of Persia," I., pp. 40-41.

Paul's Epistle to the Galatians in Arabic and Latin, together with the six primary chapters of the Christian (Calvinistic) religion in Arabic and a short Arabic grammar. Mueller used woodcuts and no types in expressing the Arabic words. All these Arabic impressions executed from 1538 till 1583 were insignificant compared to the first productions of Arabic typography in 1514 and 1516. An Arabic breviary printed in 1584 by the Oriental printing press founded by Pope Gregory XIII. in Rome is the first rival of the Fano "Diurnale" and the Genova polyglot Psalter. In 1590 the famous Medicean Arabic press in Rome resumed its work and in 1593 printed the first edition of Avicenna's works in Arabic, a huge folio of 1033 pages. This was the first publication of an original Arabic text, all the previous Arabic impressions being either translations or compilations by European scholars. It was likewise the first contribution to Arabic philology, while all earlier publications in Arabic served rather theological or ecclesiastical purposes. The Arabic printing press was henceforth firmly established in Europe. The commonplace contention that Protestantism gave the great impetus to the study of Oriental tongues has no claim to truth regarding the study of Arabic. A cursory view of the development of Arabic typography from 1514 to 1593 establishes the fact that all Arabic books were published by Catholics with the exception of two publications which appeared in Germany, Christmann's Arabic grammar and Spey's edition of the Galatians.[19]

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[19] Schwab, pp. 12-13, 20, 22. Schnurrer, pp. 18-19, n. 38-39, p. 234 n. 236 or 238, p. 235 n. 237. Lelong, II., p. 1195. Steinschneider, Polemik, pp. 91-92, 205, 215-216. Laire, p. 97. Hallam, pp. 170-171, 241, 406.

THE SUCCESSORS OF COLUMBUS.

VASCO NUNEZ DE BALBOA.

WHEN Columbus set out on his memorable voyage which resulted in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere, he had with him as companions men who were not all mere adventurers. Some of them, at least, were actuated by higher motives.

Enkindled by the zeal of the great admiral, some went forth separately in the broad field of discovery to which he had led the way. They had different aims; some only wanted to skirt the continent which the great discoverer had partially visited; they wanted to be the first to secure the fruits of the pearl fisheries of Pavia and Cubaga, or to explore the coast of Veragua, which had been described as the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. Others, like Pinzon, aspired to accomplish the grand discovery Columbus had in mind and thus rob him of the glory that rightfully belonged to him.

In the course of his expedition along the coast of Terra Firma, Columbus repeatedly heard of the existence of a vast sea or ocean to the south. To him this was the great Indian Ocean, and consequently it must, as he supposed, communicate by a strait with the Caribbean Sea, and his last and most disastrous voyage was made with the express purpose of discovering this imaginary strait and making his way into the southern ocean. The illustrious voyager, alas! was doomed to die, as it were, on the threshold of his discoveries, and it was reserved, as we shall see further on, for one of his followers, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, to obtain the first vision of the promised ocean from the lofty mountain of Darien after the death of the great admiral.

The expeditions we are about to describe may therefore be considered as growing immediately out of the voyages of Columbus and completing some of his great designs.

It is our purpose in this paper to follow the checkered fortunes of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, whose discovery of the Pacific Ocean forms one of the most charming and striking incidents in the history of the New World. Vasco de Gama has been chosen by Meyerbeer as the hero of his great opera "L'Africaine," but Vasco Nuñez de Balboa's career offers a far more romantic and dramatic field to the genius of our great musical composers.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was a native of Xerez, de los Caballeros, Spain, where he was born in 1475. His family was noble, but was now impoverished. Young Balboa was brought up in the service

of Don Pedro Puerto Carrero, Lord of Moguer. Later on he enlisted among the adventurers who joined Rodrigo de Bastides in his voyage of discovery. In his Latin Decades, Peter Martyr speaks of him as *egregius digladiator,* which has been variously translated as a "skillful swordsman" and as an "adroit fencing master." Martyr also tells us that he was "a mere soldier of fortune and of loose, prodigal habits," all of which may have been more or less true.

Balboa settled himself down for a time on the Island of Hispanola and undertook to farm near the town of Salvatierra, near the seacoast. This occupation, foreign to his natural inclination, soon involved him in heavy debt, from which he was most anxious to escape. He found the created opportunity in the expedition of the Bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, which, in addition, enabled him to indulge his adventurous inclinations. It is related of him that to elude his creditors he concealed himself in a cask and had himself in this manner conveyed from his home to the ship. This story may be true or not. The fact remains, however, that he escaped from his creditors. Though threatened to be put ashore by Enciso, Balboa succeeded in pacifying the commander, for as the venerable Las Casas tells us, "God reserved him for better things." Then again, upon reflection, Enciso recognized the fact that in Balboa he had a man well fitted to aid him in his expedition, for Balboa was at this time in the prime and vigor of his life, a well developed man, experienced, seasoned to hardships and of a daring spirit.

When this expedition reached the mainland, that is, the northern coast of South America, they put in at the fatal harbor of Cartagena (now in the United States of Colombia). We say fatal, because they had not yet heard of the bloody conflicts of Ojeda and Nicuesa with the natives, nor of the death of heroic Juan de la Cosa, which had occurred in this vicinity. Not suspecting any danger, Enciso landed a number of his men to repair a boat which had been damaged and to obtain a supply of water. At first the natives were disposed to be hostile, as they were still smarting under the influence of their treatment by Ojeda and his followers, but Enciso's men succeeded in gaining their friendship. It is not our purpose here to follow Enciso's expedition. Sufficient to say that it was attended with all manner of disaster of attacks from the natives, who used poisoned arrows against the invaders of their homes. We are concerned with the part Balboa played in helping Enciso out of his perilous situation. He informed the commander that on a former occasion he had sailed along the coast with Rodrigo de Bastides, and offered to guide the expedition to a place

where they might obtain a supply of provisions, and even succeeded so far as to found a colony. The proposition was eagerly accepted, but on reaching the desired haven the Spaniards met with a hostile reception. On beholding the Indian army drawn up in battle array, Enciso, who was daring, pious and rapacious, recommended himself and his followers to God, making a vow in their names to "Nuestra Señora de Antigua," who is greatly reverenced in Sevilla, that the first church and town they were to build should be dedicated to her, and that they would make a pilgrimage to Sevilla and make an offering at her shrine. He next made sure of the fidelity of his warriors and, lest they should give way before the poisoned arrows of their assailants, he exacted an oath that they would not turn their backs upon the foe no matter what might happen. Satisfied that he had made all necessary arrangements, he proceeded to attack the enemy with such valor that notwithstanding their first show of resistance, they were soon put to flight. Enciso entered their village, took possession of it by the "right of conquest," collected great quantities of food and cotton and bracelets, anklets, plates and other ornaments of gold to the value of over $53,000 in our money. We can imagine how elated he must have felt over his victory after so many hardships and disasters. It was unanimously agreed that the seat of government should be established in the village, and in fulfillment of his vow Enciso gave it the name of Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien.

Enciso at once entered upon his career as civil governor in place of the absent Ojeda, but the plan he adopted was too stern and severe to meet with acceptance from his followers; they murmured among themselves and insinuated that Encisco was planning to reserve the larger share of the spoils gained and to be gained for his private pocket.

Balboa was not slow in taking advantage of this general discontent. He had acquired great influence among his fellow-adventurers for having guided them to the place. Then, too, he was hardy, bold and intelligent and possessed of the random spirit and open-handed generosity common to the soldier of fortune and calculated to dazzle and delight the multitude.

Balboa had little reason to sympathize with Enciso, and he did not hesitate to form a party against him and to deprive him of his command. Disagreement followed disagreement, and it was decided for the sake of peace to allow Encisco to rule the colony until they could communicate with the mother country. The unfortunate Nicuesa also failed to establish his authority and was obliged to leave the colony, followed by seventeen of his adherents. The frail bark in which they sailed (March, 1511) steered across

the Caribbean Sea for Hispaniola, but was never seen or heard of more.

We now come to the very interesting and highly dramatic story of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, an adventurer, daring, renowned and equally unfortunate as the man with whom he was associated, and upon the ruins of whose careers he rose to world-wide fame.

No sooner had the bark bore away the ill-starred Nicuesa from the shores of Darien than trouble arose as to who should assume the command. Encisco insisted upon his claims as paramount, but he met with a powerful opponent in Balboa, who had found favor with the people because of his honest, fearless character and his winning affability. In fact, no man was more fitted than he was to govern the fiery and factious, yet at the same time generous and impressionable nature of his countrymen, because the Spaniards, though proud and resentful and impatient of dignity and restraint, are quickly dazzled by courage and won by courtesy and kindness. Balboa also possessed external qualities calculated to captivate all who came in contact with him. He is described to have been at this time about thirty-five years of age, tall, well formed and vigorous, with "reddish hair and an open, prepossessing countenance." His civil office, that of Alcalde, while it gave him a certain influence and standing among his people, also tempered any irregular habits he might have yielded to as a soldier of fortune. His superior talent, too, gave him complete ascendancy over his official colleague, Zamudio.

Having succeeded in establishing his undivided authority, Balboa exerted himself to prove himself capable of the things to which he had aspired, and he knew of no better way of convincing his sovereign, King Ferdinand, than by sending ample remittances of gold, which covers a multitude of sins, especially those committed in the New World. His first work, therefore, was to ascertain what part of the country was most prolific in precious metals. He learned that there was a rich province about thirty leagues distant called Coyba, and sent Francisco Pizarro with six men to explore it.

The Cacique who reigned over the Darien region at that time was Zemaco, a chief who cherished a bitter hostility against the invaders of his country, and not without good reason. No sooner did he learn through his spies of the approach of the Spaniards than he placed himself in ambush to oppose and destroy them if possible. The invaders had hardly proceeded nine miles along the river when they were assailed by a host of savages, who burst upon them from the adjacent forests, and uttering frightful yells discharged a shower of stones and arrows upon their foes. Pizarro

was not a man to be discouraged even by such a superiority of numbers. Though his men were bruised and wounded, he turned upon his assailants, slew many of them and put the rest to flight. Fearing another attack, Pizarro made a hasty retreat, leaving one of his men, Francisco Hernan, disabled on the field. When they reached the settlement and Balboa learned that one of his men had been deserted, he was not slow in expressing his indignation against Pizarro, and commanded him, in spite of his wounded condition, to return to the field of battle and bring back the disabled man. "Let it not be said to our shame," said he, "that a Spaniard fled before the savages and left a comrade in their hands." The proud Pizarro felt the rebuke very keenly, returned to the scene of combat and brought back Francisco Hernan in safety.

Balboa, having heard nothing of Nicuesa since his departure from Darien, sent two brigantines in search of him. The brigantines in coasting the shores of the isthmus rescued two Spaniards, clad after the manner of the natives and looking more like savages than like civilized men. They had been fugitives for about a year and a half and had been kindly received by Careta, the Cacique of Coyba. But this kindness on the part of the "savage" chieftain was rewarded with treachery by his "Christian" wards. They advised Balboa to invade their village, assuring him that he would find ample provision for needs. Elated by the intelligence received from these ungrateful creatures, Balboa chose a hundred and thirty well armed men and set out for Coyba. The unsuspecting Cacique received the Spaniards with the accustomed hospitality of his race—gave them food and drink and all his home afforded. When Balboa demanded a large supply of provisions for his people, the Cacique assured him that he could spare no more, as his people had been prevented from planting the soil because of a war he was waging with a neighboring chief. Balboa was disposed to believe him, but the ungrateful Spaniard who had so long enjoyed the Cacique's hospitality privately informed Balboa that there was an abundance of provisions and booty stowed away in a secluded place; he also suggested that the Spanish leader should pretend to believe what he was told, to appear to depart satisfied, but to return in the night and take the village by surprise. This was done. In the dead of night when the natives were in deep sleep Balboa returned, surprised his sleeping victims, made captives of Careta, his wives and children and many of his people. The concealed provisions were soon found and the two Spanish brigantines were loaded with booty and with provisions and set sail for Darien.

When the unfortunate Cacique saw his family in chains and in the hands of a people he had received in kindness, his grief knew

no bounds. "What have I done to thee," he said to Balboa, "that thou shouldst treat me so cruelly? None of thy people ever came to my land that were not fed and sheltered and treated with loving kindness. When thou camest to my dwelling, did I meet thee with a spear in my hand? Did I not set meat and drink before thee and welcome thee as a brother? Set me free, therefore, with my family and people, and we will remain thy friends. We will supply thee with provisions and reveal to thee the riches of the land. Dost thou doubt my faith? Behold my daughter; I give her to thee as a pledge of friendship. Take her for thy wife and be assured of the fidelity of her family and her people."

Balboa realized the force of these words; besides, he was not slow in seeing the importance of forming a strong alliance with the natives. The trembling captive maiden, too, found favor in his eyes and she ever after considered herself his lawful wife. Balboa granted the chief's request, accepted his daughter and promised to aid her father against his enemies on condition of his supplying the colony with provisions.

During the three days that Careta remained at Darien he was treated with great consideration. Balboa took him on board his ships, showed him every part of them; showed him his war horses with their armor and rich caparisons and terrified him with the roar of his artillery. It was not Balboa's intention to daunt the native chieftain too far by his warlike exhibition, lest fear might induce him to retire to the interior of the country at the first opportunity and thus deprive him of a useful ally. Balboa, therefore, had his musicians give a musical exhibition to his guests, who were lost in admiration. Having impressed the Cacique with an idea of the power and abilities of his new allies and loaded him with presents, he permitted him to return to what was left of his former home.[1]

Balboa kept his word with Careta. With eighty men and his companion in arms, Rodrigo Enriques de Colmenares, he proceeded by sea to Coyba, the province of the Cacique. He landed at once and invaded the territories of Ponca, the archenemy of Careta, and obliged him to seek refuge in the mountains. He next ravaged his lands and sacked his villages and carried off considerable booty. On his return to Coyba Balboa was joyfully received by Careta. His next move was a friendly visit to the neighboring province of Comagre, governed by a namesake of Careta, and who could dispose of 3,000 fighting men.

Balboa was received by his new friends with great cordiality; he and his men were conducted with great ceremony to the village, where the best houses were opened to them, where abundant pro-

[1] Peter Martyr. Decade III., c. vi.

visions were laid before them and where male and female servants were detailed to wait upon them. Peter Martyr tells us that the Cacique's dwelling surpassed any the Spaniards had seen for size and for solidity of structure. He describes it as "one hundred and fifty paces in length and eighty in breadth, founded upon great logs, surrounded by a stone wall, while the upper part was of woodwork curiously interwoven and wrought with such beauty as to fill the Spaniards with surprise and admiration. It contained many comfortable apartments. There were also storerooms filled with bread, venison and other provisions. There was another room filled with spirituous liquors which the natives made from maize, a species of the palm and fern roots of various kinds. Besides all this there was a great hall in a retired and secret part of the building in which Comagre preserved the bodies of his ancestors and relatives. These had been dried by the fire so as to preserve them from corruption and afterwards wrapped in mantles of cotton, richly wrought and interwoven with pearls and jewels of gold, as well as with certain stones highly esteemed by the natives. They were hung about the hall with cords of cotton and regarded with great reverence, if not a species of religious devotion."

The eldest son of the Cacique was far superior in intelligence and loftiness of spirit to the average native. Old Peter Martyr tells us that he soon formed an estimate of the Spaniards. Perceiving that they were a "wandering kind of men, living only by shifts and spoil," he sought to gain favor for himself and his family by gratifying their avarice. He presented Balboa and Colmenares 4,000 ounces of gold, wrought into various ornaments, together with sixty slaves, captives he had taken in the wars. Balboa ordered one-fifth of the gold weighed out and set apart for his sovereigns and the rest he shared with his companions.

Any one would have regarded this as very fair dealing on the part of the leader, but avarice never fails to make trouble. The division of the gold was made on the porch of the Cacique's dwelling and in the presence of the young man who had made the gift. As the gold was being weighed out a violent quarrel broke out among the Spaniards as to the size and value of the pieces which fell to their respective shares. The high-minded "savage" was disgusted at the sordid brawl among beings that he regarded as so vastly superior to his own people. In his indignation he struck the scales with his fist and scattered the gold about the porch. The Spaniards were not a little surprised at this sudden manifestation of indignation on the part of a "savage," but before they had time to recover from their astonishment he said to them: "Why should you quarrel over such a trifle? If the gold is indeed so precious in your

eyes that for it you abandon your homes, invade the peaceful lands of others and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a region where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost. Behold these lofty mountains," he continued, pointing to the south; "beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be seen from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels almost as large as yours and furnished like them with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into the sea abound in gold, and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common among those people of the south as iron is among your people."

Whatever indignation may have been felt by the Spaniards at the action of the young chief in scattering their gold, the information which followed the act soothed their resentment and awakened their avarice. Balboa inquired eagerly as to the best means of reaching this wonderland. "The task," replied the young "savage," "is full of difficulties and dangers. You must pass through the territories of many powerful Caciques, who will oppose you with vast armies. Some parts of the mountains are infested by fierce and cruel cannibals, a wandering, lawless race; but, above all, you will have to encounter the great Cacique, Tubanama, whose territories are at the distance of six days' journey and more rich in gold than any other province. This Cacique will be sure to come forth against you with a mighty force. To accomplish your enterprise, therefore, will require at least a thousand men armed like those who follow you."

Added to this information the young Cacique gave further details gathered from prisoners he had taken in battle and from one of his own natives who had been for a long time a captive in the lands of Tubanama. To prove the sincerity of his words, the young man offered to accompany Balboa in any expedition and take with him an army of his father's warriors.

It will interest the American reader to note that such was the first intimation received by Balboa of the existence of the Pacific Ocean and the golden realms that lay along its coast. Needless to say, it had an immediate effect upon his whole character and conduct. He saw a new enterprise opened to his ambition which if successful would raise him to fame and fortune and give him a prominent place among the great captains and discoverers of the world. We can easily imagine how the idea of the discovery of the "great sea" beyond the mountains roused and ennobled his ambitions.

Balboa lost no time in returning to Darien to make the necessary

preparations for the task that lay before him. Before leaving the province of Comagre, we are told, he baptized the Cacique, giving him the name of Carlos. He also baptized his sons and several of his subjects. It is difficult for us in our day to realize this commingling of religion with a thirst for gold, but we must not forget that the Spanish explorers never entirely lost sight of the fact that if the natives had gold they also had souls. It is true that they were not always over-solicitous about souls, but the incident above recorded, though exceptional, is not without meaning.

Balboa lost no time in informing Don Diego Columbus, Governor of Santo Domingo, of the intelligence he had received of the great sea and of the rich lands beyond the mountains, and asking his influence with the King that an addition of one thousand men be sent immediately from Spain to insure the success of his contemplated expedition of discovery. He emphasized this request with a remittance of fifteen thousand crowns of gold as the royal fifths of what had already been "gathered up" in the regions under his jurisdiction.

While awaiting a reply to his request, Balboa's restless spirit spent itself in foraging expeditions into the neighboring country.

A curious story comes to us from the province of Debayaba, which derives its name from a "mighty female of the olden time." She is described as the mother of the god who created the "sun and moon and all good things." She was supposed to have power over the elements; she could send the thunder and lightning to devastate the lands of those who incurred her displeasure, but she could also send fertility to the lands of those who were faithful to her. Other writers describe her as an Indian princess who at one time reigned among the mountains of Dobayba and who was famous throughout the land for "her supernatural power and wisdom." After her death "divine honors" were paid to her and a temple was erected in her honor. Here pilgrimages of natives came from far and near bringing with them the most costly offerings. Caciques from remote regions sent golden tributes at certain times of the year with which to adorn her temple, and even slaves were sacrificed upon her altars. When the people wearied in their attentions and neglected to send their tributes, the goddess is said to have sent a drought upon the country. This brought about the desired effect and the temple was soon filled once more with treasure and the walls hung with golden gifts.[2]

It needs no Solomon to realize the effect of this story on the Spanish adventurers. It was a prize too valuable to be neglected, and Balboa chose a band of one hundred and seventy of his hardiest

[2] Peter Martyr, Decade III., c. vi.; Dec. VII., c. x.

men to visit this temple and relieve it of the burden of its treasures. But the expedition was doomed to bitter disappointment. After a long and tedious voyage in two brigantines, he no sooner set foot in the land of promise than his old enemy, Zemaco, the Cacique of Darien, who had discovered his purpose, hastened to Dobayba and induced its Cacique to retire inland at the approach of the invaders and leave their homes deserted.

Balboa found a village situated in a marshy country and imagined he had found the residence of the Cacique; on reaching it he found it silent and deserted. There was not a native to be found to give him the slightest information either about the country nor about the much-coveted golden temple. Nor was this all; he was disappointed in his hopes of finding provisions. True, he found weapons of various kinds hanging upon the walls of the abandoned houses and jewels and pieces of gold valued at 7,000 castellanos (between $35,000 and $40,000). This, though a goodly sum, was far from what he expected. Then, too, the deserted appearance of the country, with its deep morasses, the lack of guides to assist him in its exploration, had a most discouraging effect upon Balboa. He now loaded all his booty on two large canoes and turned his face back to the Gulf of Uraba. But ill luck seemed to follow him. On reaching the gulf he was overtaken by violent storms, which nearly wrecked his two brigantines and compelled him to throw a great part of his cargo overboard. Needless to say that the two canoes which contained all his booty were swallowed up by the angry sea and all their crews perished.

We next find Balboa and his followers in the province of the Cacique Abibeyba, who presided over a people we might call Lacustrines, or lake-dwellers. Here the habitations of the natives were built in the branches of great and lofty trees. They are described as large enough to accommodate not only single families, but their connections, and were built partly of wood and partly of a kind of wickerwork, combining strength and pliability and yielding to the motion of the branches when agitated by the wind. They are reached by means of light ladders, which the inmates draw up after them at night or in case of attack. As these habitations were always well supplied with provisions, they possessed attractions for the invaders. Within easy access were the canoes with which the natives reached terra firma and navigated the rivers and ponds of their marshy lands and followed their occupation of fishing.

When the natives perceived the approach of the Spaniards, they flew for refuge to their tree-built castles and drew up their ladders. The invaders called upon them to descend and to fear nothing. Putting little faith in these words, the Cacique besought his vis-

itors to depart and leave his people in peace, inasmuch as they had done the Spaniards no injury, but the latter threatened to cut down the trees or to set fire to them unless the natives came down. Although the Cacique was disposed to consent, his people, filled with alarm, prevented him from doing so. The Spaniards now prepared to cut down the trees and were assailed with showers of stones. Protected by their shields, the Spaniards laid their axes at the foot of the trees and soon compelled their victims to capitulate. The Cacique descended with his wife and children, and the first demand of the invaders was for gold. He replied that having no need for it, he had never made search for it. Upon being pressed, the Cacique asked permission to go to a certain mountain some distance off; he would return in a few days with a supply of the much coveted metal. He was permitted to depart and he never returned. After waiting for some time and appropriating the abundant provisions they found there, the Spaniards continued their foraging expeditions. Needless to say, they were often met by bold and warlike natives, suffering occasional losses, but always inflicting great havoc upon their opposers.

Balboa and his followers having overrun a vast extent of territory with no prospect of immediate benefit, returned to Darien. His anxieties were not confined to guarding against the attacks of the natives. He feared that Enciso, who shared the government of the colony with him, might succeed in prejudicing the mind of his sovereign against him, and he determined to go to Spain, and, in person, communicate all he had learned about the great southern sea, and, if possible, obtain the troops necessary for its discovery. In this he met with great opposition not only on the part of his enemies, but of his adherents as well. It was held that his presence was indispensable for the safety of the colony. It was finally decided that Juan de Cayzedo and Enriquez de Colmenard should go in his place, with instruction to make all necessary representations to the King. Accounts were also sent—most extravagant accounts—of the wealth of the country, based on the sanguine hopes of the Spaniards and partly by the fairy tales told by the natives. The reputed wealth of the Province of Dobayba and the treasures of its golden temple were dwelt upon at length, and an Indian slave, a native of the province of Zena, where gold was supposed to be found in abundance, accompanied the emissaries. To make their account more impressive every one contributed a certain amount of gold from his private hoard, to be presented to the King; this in addition to the fifths, which according to contract, rightfully belonged to the Crown.

The ship bearing the emissaries to the mother country was hardly

out of sight when new dissensions broke out in the colony, which was not to be wondered at when we consider the adventurous character of the colonists. Balboa, it is true, had gained prominence by his courage and ability, but he had risen from the ranks; he was, in a manner, of their own creation, and they could not forget that he was until recently only a mere soldier of fortune and an absconding debtor. Hence they had not become sufficiently accustomed to regard him as a governor. Their discontent was first directed against one Bartolome Hurtado, a parasite of Balboa's, who was eventually cast into prison, but was finally liberated through the influence of his protector. Two parties were formed, however, and were soon drawn up in battle array against each other. Fortunately there were some cool heads in the colony, who reminded the angry combatants that if they fought among themselves and reduced their already shrinking numbers, even its successful side must eventually fall a prey to the native foe.

These arguments were not without effect, and after much talk a compromise was effected, but it was of short duration. The factious views seemed to turn to a higher object—the true object of their resentment. They broke out in loud complaints against Balboa, claiming that he "had not made a fair division of the gold and slaves taken in the late expeditions," and threatened to arrest him and bring him to an account. Their broadest clamor was for an immediate division of 10,000 castellanos in gold, which had not yet been shared.

Balboa knew his people too well and his own precarious hold on their obedience to attempt to cope with them at this time, and he determined to leave them to divide the spoils among themselves, trusting to their own strife for his safety; so that very night he started for the interior of the country on pretended hunting expedition.

The next morning the discontents finding themselves masters of the situation, proceeded to business. Alonzo Perez, the pragmatical leader, immediately assumed the command, seconded by the Bachiller Corral. Their first step was to secure their own popularity by dividing the 10,000 castellanos. This is just what Balboa wanted. Scarcely had the division commenced than a furious strife ensued. Every man was dissatisfied with the portion assigned to him, considering his peculiar merits not sufficiently recognized. Every attempt to quiet them only increased their anger, and in their rage they swore that Balboa had always been more just in his recognition of merit. "Balboa," they said, "won the gold by his enterprise and valor, and would have shared it with the brave and deserving, but these men have seized upon it by factious means and would

squander it upon their minions." The majority of the people, who really admired the soldier-like qualities of Balboa, now displayed one of those not unusual reverses of popular feeling. The sensitive Alonzo Perez, his companion, the Bachiller Corral and some others, the ringleaders, were seized and put in irons and confined in the fortress, and Balboa was recalled with loud acclamations to the colony.

It would be difficult to say how long Balboa would have been able to manage his restless and unruly colonists, but fortune seemed to favor him at this juncture. Two ships arrived from Hispanola loaded with supplies and bringing a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty men. They also brought a commission from Miguel de Pasamonte, the royal treasurer of Hispanola, appointing him captain general of the colony. This commission may have been inspired by a private present in gold sent by Balboa. Under existing circumstances Balboa was more than pleased at receiving a commission which invested him with what might be regarded as the semblance of royal sanction. Feeling now more secure in his position and yielding to his naturally generous and and forgiving disposition, he at once released and pardoned Alonzo Perez and the Bachiller Corral, together with the other ringleaders of the late uprising, and peace reigned in the colony for some time.

But trouble was brewing in another direction. Balboa's late colleague, the Alcalde Zamudio, wrote him from Spain that Enciso had sent complaints to the Crown and had succeeded in arousing the displeasure of the King to the extent of securing the condemnation of Balboa, and that he (Balboa) would in all probability be summoned to Spain to answer charges against him on account of the harsh treatment and the probable death of the ill-fated Nicuesa.

Balboa was at first stunned in receiving this intelligence, which, if carried out, would put an end to all his plans. Being a man of prompt decision and of bold execution and the information from Spain being both private and informal, he resolved on immediate action, as he well knew that one brilliant achievement would make amends for all the past and restore him to royal favor. Such an achievement was within his reach—it was no less than the discovery of the southern sea. He fully realized that his enterprise would require a thousand armed men, and he also realized that if he wanted to receive them from the mother country his day of grace would be past. His enterprise was a dangerous thing to attempt with the small force at his command, but his condition was a desperate one, as fame, fortune, even life itself depended upon prompt and successful action; to hesitate was his destruction.

Balboa considered the band of reckless adventurers that formed

his colony, and finally selected one hundred and ninety men—resolute, vigorous and reliable—men he knew he could count upon. He told them the dangers they were to encounter and what he expected of them. All this only served to rouse the spirits of these bold adventurers. He also took with him a number of bloodhounds.

It may not be devoid of interest to mention that Spanish writers make special reference to one of these animals, known as Leoncico, which was a sort of body guard of Balboa's, and they describe him as minutely as they would a favorite warrior. "He was of middle size, but immensely strong; of a dull yellow or reddish color, with a black muzzle, and his body was scarred all over with wounds received in innumerable battles with the Indians. Balboa always took him with him on his expeditions, and sometimes lent him to others, receiving for his services the same share of booty allowed to an armed man." . . . The Indians, it is said, were in such terror of this animal that the very sight of him put them to flight.[3]

Balboa's force was further augmented by a number of Indians of Darien, whom he had attached to him by his kindness and who were a valuable acquisition because of their knowledge of the country and of the habits and resources of the savages. Such was the make-up of the army that Balboa led from the little colony of Darien in quest of the great Pacific Ocean.

Balboa felt that he had no time to lose, as the news recently received from Spain might leak out among his enemies in the colony and bring about disastrous consequences and interfere with his designs. Thus it came to pass that on September 1 (1513) Balboa set sail with his followers in a brigantine and nine large canoes or pirogues amid the "vivas" and good wishes of those left behind in the settlement. He was not long in reaching Coyba, the province of his old friend and father-in-law (?), the Cacique Careta, whose daughter managed to bring about a strong friendship between her father and her Spanish friends. Balboa was well received and supplied with guides and warriors for his daring enterprise.

Balboa left half of his men at Coyba to guard his brigantine and canoes, while he went into the wilderness with the remainder. The importance of this expedition made a very great impression on his mind, and before setting out on his march, he had "a Mass celebrated and prayers offered up for the success of his perilous undertaking." On the 6th of September he started for the mountains and began a toilsome and extremely difficult march, as the Spaniards, encumbered as they were with the weight of their armor and weapons and oppressed by the intolerable heat, were obliged

[3] Oviedo, Hist. Indies, p. 2, c. iii., MS.

to climb rocky precipices and to struggle through close and tangled forests. They received valuable aid in all this from their native allies, who helped them by carrying their ammunition and provisions and by showing them the most practicable passes.

After a toilsome march of two days the Spaniards reached the village of Ponca, Careta's old enemy. Balboa found the village abandoned, its Cacique and his people had fled to the mountains. The footsore and tired Spaniards remained here for two days to restore the strength of those who had fallen by the way, and, above all, to procure guides acquainted with the wilderness they were about to penetrate. The place of retreat selected by Ponca was at last discovered, and Balboa, who had a peculiar talent for winning the confidence and good will of the natives when it suited his ends to do so, prevailed upon Ponca to come to him. The brave but simple Cacique was soon captivated by the kind reception accorded to him, and was induced to reveal to Balboa all he knew of the riches of the country. He assured him of the truth of all he had been told about a great sea beyond the mountains. He gave Balboa several ornaments ingeniously wrought of fine gold, which had been brought from the countries upon its borders. He further assured him that when he had reached the summit of a lofty ridge, which he indicated, and which seemed to reach the clouds, he would behold that sea in all its vastness.

Having procured fresh guides and fired by the information he received, Balboa prepared to ascend the mountain. Finding that a number of his men had succumbed to the heat and fatigue of their journey up to this point, he ordered them to return slowly to Coyba, taking with him only such as were robust and vigorous in health.

On September 20 Balboa again started on his journey through a rocky country, covered with dense forests and intersected by deep and turbulent streams, many of which required to be crossed on rafts. So toilsome was the journey that the Spaniards were only able to advance ten leagues in four days, during which time they suffered severely from hunger. They had now reached the province of a warlike chief, Quaraquá, who was at war with Ponca. The former, hearing that a body of strangers guided by the subjects of his inveterate foe, was entering his territory, at once took the field with a large number of warriors, some armed with bows and arrows, some with long spears or with double-headed maces of palm wood, almost as heavy and hard as iron. When they ascertained the small number of Spaniards, they attacked them with furious yells, thinking to overcome them without trouble. The first discharge of firearms, however, filled them with terror. They imagined they were attacked by demons, who belched forth thunder

and lightning, especially when they beheld their companions falling beside them, bleeding and dead without having received any apparent blow. They fled in confusion, hotly pursued by the Spaniards and their bloodhounds. Some of the unfortunate natives were transfixed with lances, some cut down with swords and many were torn to pieces by the dogs, so that poor Quaraquá and six hundred of his warriors were left dead upon the field.

It is related that a brother of the Cacique and several chiefs were taken prisoners. They were clad in white cotton, and either from their effeminate dress or the accusation of their enemies, the Spaniards were led to consider them guilty of unnatural crimes, and in their abhorrence and disgust gave them to be torn to pieces by the bloodhounds.[4]

An interesting fact presents itself at this point in Balboa's career. It appears that among the prisoners captured in this battle were several negroes. To the question of the Spaniards as to these negroes they were told that "these black men came from a region at no great distance, where there was a people of that color with whom they were at war." "These," adds the Spanish writer, "were the first negroes ever found in the New World, and I believe no others have since been discovered." Peter Martyr in his third "Decade" makes mention of these negroes as follows: "About two days' journey distant from Quaraqui is a region inhabited only by black Moors, exceeding fierce and cruel. It is supposed that in time past certain black Moors sailed thither from Ethiopia, to rob, and that by shipwreck or some other causes they were driven to the mountains." We must remember that as Peter Martyr lived and wrote at the time, he naturally related the mere rumors of the day, which all subsequent accounts have failed to prove. Other historians who have mentioned the circumstance have probably repeated it from him, and the story is hardly entitled to credit.

After the bloody triumph recorded above, the Spaniards went to the village of Quaraquá, where they found considerable booty in gold and jewels. Balboa reserved one-fifth of all this as his share and distributed the rest among his followers. The village of Quaraquá was at the foot of the last mountain that remained in their way, but as several of the Spaniards were disabled by wounds received in battle or so exhausted as to be unable to proceed, they were obliged to remain in the village in sight of the mountain-top that would reveal to them the object of their ambition. Balboa, anxious to achieve his life-purpose, selected fresh guides from among his prisoners. Of the large number of men

[4] Herrera. Hist. Indies, Dec. I., lx., c. i.

who set out on this expedition there remained only sixty-seven in a condition to make this last effort. These were sent to rest that they might be able to start in the cool of the morning.

At daybreak Balboa left the Indian village and began the ascent of the mountain. After all they had gone through, it was a severe and rugged task, but they were animated by the thought of the triumphant scene that was soon to reward them for all their hardships. Shortly before noon the Spaniards had crossed the dense forests through which they had struggled and reached a lofty and airy part of the mountain, leaving only the bald summit to be climbed, and their guides indicated a slight eminence from which they could get a view of the "great sea." No sooner had Balboa received this information than he commanded a halt. Then with a beating heart he climbed to the mountain-top alone. On reaching the summit, the long-desired prospect burst upon his view. It was a sight in beholding which for the first time any man would wish to be alone. In solitude he looked down upon the vast Pacific—the first man of the Old World, so far as we know, who had done so. Falling upon his knees, he gave thanks to God for the favor shown to him in his being permitted to discover the sea of the South. He then called his followers to ascend and addressed them as follows: "You see, my friends and sons, how our desires are being accomplished and the end of our labors. Of that we ought to be certain, for, as it has turned out true what King Comagre's son has told of the sea to us who never thought to see it, so I hold for certain that what he told us of there being incomparable treasures in it will be fulfilled. Let us give thanks to God and His Blessed Mother for the great honor and advantage vouchsafed to us. Let us pray God to guide and aid us to conquer the sea and land which we have discovered and which no Christian has ever entered to preach the holy doctrine of the Evangelists. As to yourselves, be as you have hitherto been, faithful and true to me; and by the favor of Christ you will become the richest Spaniards that have ever come to the Indies; you will render the greatest services to your King that ever vassal rendered to his lord, and you will have the eternal glory and advantage of all that is here discovered, conquered and converted to our holy Catholic faith."

As the mutineers fell at the feet of Columbus when they first landed in the New World, so the followers of Balboa embraced him and pledged themselves to follow him even unto death. Father Andres de Vara, who had followed the fortunes of Balboa to this time, intoned the *"Te Deum laudamus,"* and all present joined in the hymn with pious enthusiasm and tears of joy, and never

did a more sincere oblation rise to heaven from a holy altar than from this mountain summit.

This was, indeed, one of the most sublime discoveries that had yet been made in this great Western Hemisphere of ours, and it doubtless opened a boundless field of conjecture to the wondering Spaniards. "The imagination," says Washington Irving, "delights to picture forth the splendid confusion of their thoughts. Was this the great Indian Ocean, studded with precious islands, abounding in gold, in gems, in spices and bordered by the gorgeous cities and wealthy marts of the East? Or was it some lonely sea locked up in the embraces of savage, uncultivated continents and never traveled by bark, excepting the light canoes of the savage? The latter could hardly be the case, for the natives had told the Spaniards of golden realms and populous and powerful and luxurious nations upon its shores."

Such may have been the ideas suggested by the sight of this unknown ocean. It was the firm belief of the Spaniards, however, that they were the first Christians who had made the discovery. Balboa therefore called upon all present to witness that he took possession of land and sea, its islands and adjacent lands in the name of the Sovereigns of Castile, and the notary of the expedition made a record of all this, to which all present affixed their signatures. A tall tree was then cut down and formed into a cross and raised upon the spot from which the discoverers had first beheld the "promised ocean." A heap of stones was piled up to serve as a monument, and the names of the Castilian Sovereigns was carved on the neighboring trees. Needless to say that the Indians beheld all these ceremonies and rejoicings with silent wonder.

The memorable event here recorded took place on the 26th day of September, 1513.[5]

As it will be impossible to give even a few of the details of the valiant deeds and cruel sufferings of Balboa in a single paper, we shall continue the narrative in a future issue of the QUARTERLY.

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[5] Vidas de Españoles Celebres, por Don Manuel Josef Quintana; Tom. II., p. 40.

THE CHURCH AND ASTRONOMY.

AS throughout the Christian Ages, the Catholic Church has ever been the friend and patroness of learning, so has she been, in a special sense, of astronomy; to which science she has stood in a peculiar relationship. Her attitude here will be obvious to all who study her history in this connection, and may be summed up under four great heads.

1. Her work in reforming and perfecting the kalendar.
2. The number and renown of Catholic astronomers.
3. The observatories founded under her patronage.
4. The astronomic activity of Catholic missionaries.

THE GREGORIAN KALENDAR.

On the fall of the Roman Empire, when the world seemed about to relapse into barbarism, the Church, as pagan culture sank, took up the task of education. Her attention was primarily called to astronomy by the imperative need of its assistance in adjusting her Paschal Calendar. As early as 208 A. D. the Bishop of Alexandria, then the centre and home of astronomic culture, appointed a committee of scholars to calculate a cycle for determining the date of Easter. About the same time Hippolitus, Bishop of Porto, obtained renown through his teaching of the "Computum," this distinctly Christian science being, as Durandus tells us, simply an application of astronomic principles to the calculation of the great feast. The two cycles composed by Hippolitus, determining this date for 112 years, won for his memory the erection of a statue having the famous cycles engraved on his episcopal chair; a souvenir which may be seen to this day in the "Christian Museum" of the Lateran. In A. D. 325, the Council of Nice laid down exact and stringent rules for the Paschal observance, the calculations for which were to be made at Alexandria and communicated by the Bishop of that city to the See of Rome. From this time until the promulgation of the Gregorian Kalendar, in 1582, it became the constant endeavor of the authorities at Rome to draw to that centre the highest astronomic talent of the times. Under this patronage, Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria (385-412) composed an elaborate Easter cycle, while in 457 Pope Hilary appointed Victor of Acquitaine to revise the kalendar and, a little later, Dionysius Exiguus, or Dionysius the Little, a Scythian monk, then presiding as abbot of a convent in Rome, was so commissioned—the period known from his name as the Dionysian Period remaining in use until the Gregorian Reformation. To this same Dionysius we owe also the calculation of our Christian era. Owing to the errors of the Julian year and

the lunar period employed, it was still inaccurate, for the perfect adjustment of the solar-lunar kalendar (a problem which had baffled antiquity,) together with the exact determination of the tropical year, was still beyond their nascent powers. About 730 A. D. the Venerable Bede called attention to the fact that the Equinoxes then fell about three days earlier than at the time of the Council of Nice. Bede was invited to Rome by Pope Sergius to aid in the work of reform, but could not be persuaded to leave his quiet retreat at Yarrow, where he continued, however, to write on astronomical matters. By the year 1220 the anticipation of the Equinoxes amounted to seven days, as was shown by the English monk, John Holywood (known to us under his Latin name of Sacrobosco) in his treatise, "De Anni Ratione" and shortly after, by the great Franciscan Friar, Roger Bacon, whose work on the reform of the kalendar was forwarded for approval to Pope Clement IV. Two learned Cardinal Bishops now appeared to urge farther this matter of reform: Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, who represented its necessity before the Council of Constance, and the celebrated Nicholas of Cusa, who pled for it before that of Basle. In 1474 Pope Sextus IV. resolved to bring the matter to a conclusion, and through Cardinal Bessarion, invited Regiomontanus, the leading astronomer of the day, to Rome to superintend the proceedings, promoting him in advance to the Bishopric of Ratisbon. Unfortunately Regiomontanus died the next year. But astronomic skill had now so advanced that soon a group of experts gathered at Rome eager to initiate the great undertaking. To enlist popular interest, Ignatius Dante, the great mathematician of Perugia, (afterwards Bishop of Alatri,) erected in the Church of St. Petronius, Bologna, an immense gnomon, or sun dial, to show to all enquiring eyes the exact time when the sun really crossed the meridian and the consequent errors of the kalendar. Finally, Gregory XIII. chose from the various memorials and schemes of reform presented to the congregation of the kalendar, that of Aloisius Lullius, as combining the greatest simplicity with exactitude. Again the reformer was carried away by death, but his place was assumed by the celebrated Jesuit astronomer, Clavius, to whom the completion of the work was committed. Religious prejudice, as we know, prevented its immediate acceptance by non-Catholic nations. Not until 1752 was it finally adopted in England, and then not without riot and bloodshed.

NUMBER AND RENOWN OF CATHOLIC ASTRONOMERS BEFORE COPERNICUS.

The millennium embraced between the fifth and fifteenth centuries

has been sometimes termed the "Stationary Period" in astronomy, but with some injustice, for the mediæval astronomers, coming from nations just won to the Church and its culture, needed first to assimilate all that past research had to offer before they could be competent to criticize or improve upon the system presented them. That this system, as transmitted by the Greeks, was misleading, delayed their progress, but the period in which a body of students could master and surpass the learning of their teachers cannot rightly be termed "stationary." We have first then, in astronomy, an era of study and assimilation, before we reach one of independent research. We shall note the Church's coöperation with both. One of the earliest writers on astronomy was St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville [570-636 A. D.] His "Book of the Origins" and "De Rerum Natura" were drawn up for the use of his Cathedral School, the Second Council of Toledo, 531, having passed several canons for the establishment of such schools in connection with each cathedral.[1] Turning our eyes to the North, we find Bede [673-735 A. D.] writing, not on the kalendar only, but on the sphericity of the earth, the attraction of the moon over the tides and other celestial phenomena. Quoting also directly from Greek authors. As ignorance of such authorities has been often charged against early mediæval astronomers, it may be well to add that the study of Greek in Irish monasteries and those founded by them throughout Europe has been proven beyond a doubt. St. Cummian in his epistle on the Paschal disputation examines the various cycles used by Jews, Greeks, Latins and Egyptians, proving his knowledge both of Greek and of astronomy. The year 781 brings us to the Court of Charlemagne, to find Alcuin, the pupil of Bede, installed as master of the famous Palatine, or Royal School, that monarch had established. Astronomy was among the subjects taught, and a letter is still preserved in which Alcuin explains the reasons for the non-appearance of the planet Mars at the time "predicted by the ancients."

The reign of Charlemagne was also noteworthy for an observation which would have been of great importance had its real nature been understood. On the 17th of March, 807, a large spot was observed on the sun by the Benedictine monk Adelmus, who, however, supposed it to be a transit of Mercury. A better knowledge of geography now began to react on astronomy. Irish missionaries visited the Orkneys and Iceland, and Dicuil in his "Liber de Mensura Orbis" shows a clear knowledge of the phenomena of the "oblique sphere." Maps were improved, many being made from a design furnished by Beatus, a Spanish priest of the eighth cen-

[1] Drane: "Christian Schools and Scholars," p. 13.

tury.[2] But the era which had opened so auspiciously for learning under the strong hand of Charlemagne was destined to close in fire and blood. Invasions of Danes and Northmen, with fresh incursions of the Saracens, the general ruin of the monasteries and decay of the cathedral schools, won for the tenth century the title of the "Iron Age." It was redeemed for astronomy by the rise of the great scholar, Gerbert, afterwards to become Pope Sylvester II. To him we owe the first introduction of Arabic notation into mediæval Europe. He provided the means for mathematical progress, so necessary for astronomy. Gerbert's astronomical globes, quadrants, astrolabes and clocks were also the wonder of his age. He is said to have observed the stars through a long tube, which some have supposed to be a telescope, though probably erroneously. His fame as a teacher was so great that "half the prelates and princes of Europe had gloried in calling him master:" his acquirements so varied, they were popularly supposed to include the entire realm of knowledge. We can appreciate the stimulus given to learning when such a scholar ascended the Papal throne! With the opening of the eleventh century, another era of revival began, chiefly showing itself in the eager mastery of Greek and Arabic sources of learning. Cajori [Hist. of Mathematics, p. 125,] tells us that the zeal displayed in acquiring these treasures surpassed even that the Saracens had shown when plundering the rich archives of Greek and Hindu learning. Plato of Tivoli, Athelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Gerard of Cremona, were among the scholars who "braved a thousand hardships and perils" to obtain a knowledge of the algebra and astronomy of the Spanish Arabs. About the middle of the twelfth century, a little colony of Christian students had gathered at Toledo, under the leadership of Raymund, Bishop of that see, busily engaged in translating. Greek authors were also attacked. Albertus Magnus, the great Dominican, ordered fresh translations of Aristotle's works on natural science. He himself made some advance in astronomy, teaching the Milky Way to be a vast assemblage of distant stars, as also the inherent nature of lunar markings. His greater pupil, Thomas Aquinas, wrote a commentary on Aristotle's book on the heavens, which Dreyer [Planetary Systems] pronounces to be "probably the best written." Roger Bacon in his work on optics now pointed the way to that great invention which was so wonderfully to expand the domain of astronomy. "There is no doubt," says Smythe in his "Bedford Catalogue," "that Bacon's extraordinary mind conceived the telescope." We have now reached the age of Alfonso the Wise, that astronomer king whose famous "tables" replaced those of Ptolemy

[2] Dreyer: "Planetary Systems."

and the Arabs, of which the inaccuracies were becoming daily more manifest. He appears to have been the first astronomer who ventured to express open dissatisfaction with Greek cosmology, for his oft quoted remark as to the good advice he could have given, had he been consulted when the planets were set in their spheres, seems evidently a covert criticism on Ptolemy's endless epicycles. In 1401 was born Nicholas Von Cusa, son of a poor fisherman, who was later to be honored as a Cardinal of the Church. Educated at Deventer, by the Brethren of the Common Life, he traveled afterwards in Italy and became the pupil of the great Toscanelli, who encouraged Columbus to journey westward. Cusa is sometimes hailed as a precursor of Copernicus. In his "Docta Ignorantia" (books II. and XII.) we certainly find clear statements of the motion of the earth, which, he says, does not contradict the evidence of our senses, since motion can only be known relatively. "How," he asks, "could one in the middle of the sea know that his ship was moving?" Motion Cusa believes to be natural to all bodies. "The earth then cannot be fixed, but moves like the other stars, wherefore it revolves, as Pythagoras says, around the poles of the world once in a day and a night." The University of Vienna had become soon after its foundation in 1365 a centre for astronomic study. Here Jean de Gmuden, the elder Bianchini, and finally, George Purbach had taught. To this latter, Bailly, the French astronomer, attributes the beginnings of original work. Purbach visited Cardinal Cusa, then traveled in Italy, lecturing with great applause at Ferrara, Padua and Bologna. Later he was joined by Johann Müller, of Königsberg, known to us as Regiomontanus. The two astronomers were visited at Vienna by Cardinal Bessarion, then residing there as Papal Legate. He urged them to return with him to Italy, where they would find better Greek manuscripts for the translation of the Almagest on which they were engaged. Regiomontanus consented and remained seven years in Italy—this first visit leading, as we have seen, to his final recall by Pope Sixtus IV. for work on the kalendar. In the interval he returned to Nuremberg, where he established the first astronomical observatory in Christian Europe. Here not only instruments were constructed with an accuracy hitherto unknown, but the newly invented art of printing was pressed into the service of astronomy, and Regiomontanus published those nautical tables which were soon to guide Columbus across the wide Atlantic. Our next astronomer, Jean Fernel, was a contemporary of Copernicus. To him we are indebted for the first European attempt to determine the size of the earth. His survey was made in 1528 with an error of less than one per cent.: a most remarkable result considering the instruments then in use!

COPERNICUS AND LATER ARTRONOMERS.

A time had now come when the astronomic world was ripe for a change. Dissatisfaction with the system of Ptolemy was increasing. A new theory was needed, and this theory which was to revolutionize the science, and at the same time make fresh progress possible, was to find its promulgator in a canon and priest of the Catholic Church. Nicholas Copernicus was born in 1473, at Thorn, on the Vistula, in that most Catholic of countries, Poland, and was educated by his uncle, the Bishop of Ermland. After graduating at Cracow, like most of his predecessors, he visited Italy, studied at Ferrara, lecturing later at Padua and Bologna before classes of 2,000. He then returned to his quiet home at Frauenberg to perfect his heliocentric theory. This theory became informally known through a brief epitome, circulated among friends, entitled "Commentariolus," and aroused great anger—not at Rome, but at Wittemberg, Luther and Melancthon condemning it in unmeasured terms. Clement VII., on the contrary, heard it favorably. At his request, a Roman astronomer lectured in 1533 on the chief points of the theory as then set forth,[3] and a little later Cardinal Schomberg wrote to Copernicus urging him to publish a complete account of his system and offering to defray the entire expense of publication.[4] Copernicus was now joined by a young disciple, Rheticus, who had been educated by Schoner in the astronomic school still flourishing at Nuremberg. He prevailed upon Copernicus to publish, and the latter's great work was finally committed to the care of his friend Giese, Bishop of Cologne. The astronomer himself lived only long enough to receive a copy on his death bed, May 24, 1543. He had dedicated it to Pope Paul III., desiring, as he said, to offer it to the Holy Father "as to him who was distinguished by his dignity and love of science." [Bailly: Astronomic Moderne I., p. 362.] For nearly fifty years after his death the system of Copernicus found but few advocates. This was probably due to the influence of the great Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, who threw all the weight of his authority against it—inventing, however, a system of his own in which all the planets, except the earth, revolved around the sun. The German astronomer Kepler now arose to defend and perfect the system of Copernicus. On Kepler's difficulties with his own Church, we cannot here dwell. Suffice it to say, both these great Northern astronomers, Tycho Brahe and Kepler, finally left their own homes to place themselves under the patronage of the Catholic Emperor, Rudolph II., whose court

[3] See Berry: "Short History of Astronomy," p. 97.

[4] Dreyer: "Planetary Systems," chapter "Copernicus." Bailly: "Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne," I., pp. 361 and 697.

astronomers they successively became; Kepler dedicating to the Emperor the calculations of a lifetime under the name of the Rudolphine Tables. We now find Galileo in Italy embracing the new theory with ardor and without restraint until, at least, the year 1616. His brilliant discoveries, his public demonstrations of many physical laws, above all, his invention and use of the telescope, by which he revealed to the astonished eyes of princes and courtiers the unknown wonders of the heavens, nightly, in the gardens of the Villa Medici gave a vogue and popularity to astronomy hitherto undreamed of. Up to the very year of his condemnation, in 1633, no astronomer had ever received such manifestations of esteem or so basked in the favor of Popes and Cardinals as had Galileo. The story of his trial and condemnation has been so often and ably told in pages accessible to the Catholic reader, that there is no need here to do more than note a few salient facts.[5] At the very opening of the century, a circumstance had occurred which tended to discredit Copernicanism. The pseudo-philosopher Giordano Bruno, whose revolting and immoral pantheism had led to his condemnation at Rome, in 1600, had embraced that system with extravagant ardor. He was not "the first to predicate motion of the stars" nor "infinitude of the universe." Cardinal Cusa had anticipated him there, but while the Cardinal had spoken reverently, as a devout believer, Bruno had drawn from these premises a denial of both Creator and creation. When, therefore, Galileo began to argue on the religious bearings of his theory, and to draw proofs of its validity from Scripture, he was at once cautioned to desist. "Write freely on mathematics and physics, but avoid theology," was the admonition conveyed to him from Cardinal Bellarmini. But Galileo persisted not only in advancing Scriptural proofs, but in treating his theory as a demonstrated fact, and pouring scorn on all who differed from him. At that period the Copernican theory was not susceptible of demonstration, since the evidences we now hold of its truth were as yet lacking. As the French astronomer, Delambre, tells us, it was not until the discovery of the law of gravitation and the aberration of light (or change in its direction due to the earth's motion,) that it became possible to prove that motion absolutely. Moreover, Galileo wrote with unpardonable asperity of all opponents—thus of Father Scheiner, the Jesuit, whose only crime lay in a difference of opinion on the matter of sun spots, with a possible claim to priority in their

[5] See "Galileo," Catholic Encyclopedia, also Ency. Britannica. This article is by a Catholic, A. M. Clerke. An excellent account by a kindly though non-Catholic critic, the late Professor E. S. Holden, formerly of the Lick Observatory, may be found in reprint "Galileo," from "Popular Science Monthly," 1905.

discovery. Galileo writes: "This pig, this great malignant ass, makes a catalogue of my errors! But let the fellow see his bad fortune, for he was unable to deduce anything remarkable from this observation, while I discovered through it, the greatest secret in nature (i. e., the revolution of the earth.) This is what aroused him to canine rage against me."[6] Naturally such language created enemies. Nevertheless, at repeated visits to Rome, Galileo was treated with renewed favor until the publication of his "Dialogo" in 1632. Passing over the various steps in his condemnation, we need only note that however unfortunate and mistaken this action, it is far from summing up the "attitude of the Church towards astronomy." Viewed through the perspective of centuries, the Galileo incident sinks into its proper proportion as an incident merely, not a typical illustration of Church policy. It is now conceded both that Galileo was treated with personal consideration and that the usual Papal signature was not attached either to the condemnatory decree of the Congregation of the Index, in 1616, or to the formal condemnation of 1632. Meanwhile the "correction" of Copernicus' own work, "De Revolutionibus," which had been placed upon the Index, was completed by Cardinal Gaetani in 1620, the corrections being only such as to represent the new theory as an hypothesis simply. Galileo's own works, however, remained on the Index until much later. Full justice, indeed, was not done to his memory until 1734, when the following inscription was placed over his tomb in Santa Croce: "Galileus Galilei, geometriae, astronomiae, philosophiae, maximus restitutor, nulli aetatis suae comparandus." It seems strange to note in this connection that astronomic opposition to Copernicus should at this time have proceeded largely from non-Catholics. Tycho Brahe and his disciple, Longomontanus, would have none of it, while Sir Francis Bacon, in England, was severe in his disapproval. On the other hand, both Bouillard and Gassendi defended it in France without apparent sense of disloyalty to the Church. Ismael Bouillaud, born in London, 1605, and probably the first astronomer-convert to become a Catholic priest, published his "Philolaus, or True System of the World," at Paris, 1639, while Gassendi's controversy on the subject with Father Riccioli, S. J., appeared in epistolary form in 1642.[7] Contemporary with Galileo, a brilliant gathering of Jesuit astronomers flourished at Rome and made the observatory of the Collegio Romano famous. This college had been founded by St. Francis Borgia in the time of Paul III. The present buildings date from that of Gregory XIII., whence it has been sometimes styled

[6] Opera, "Galileo," "Edizione Nazionale," Vol. XVI., p. 391.
[7] Bailly: "Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne," Vol. II., p. 209.

the Gregorian University. Here Father Clavius completed his calculations on the kalendar: here he invented the Vernier (for which credit has been so long denied him). Here Father Scheiner, despite Galileo's abuse, observed sun spots and wrote his great work on the same, "Rosa Ursina." Here Father Grienberger mounted the first equatorial telescope and Father Cysatus turned his tube to the great comet of 1618, and here (or at Ingolstadt) first glimpsed the great nebula in Orion, thus opening up an entirely new branch of astronomy. Here, finally, and at Bologna, Father Riccioli wrote his famous Encyclopedia of Astronomy, the New Almagest, and with Father Grimaldi studied and mapped out the face of the moon.[8] Another Catholic astronomer was just at this time, making a specialty of lunar topography—Hevelius of Danzig, that old city of the Teutonic knights, wrested from them at the Reformation, From Rome to Danzig, letters passed back and forth between the selenographists, written in such courteous wise that Galileo might well have blushed had he seen them. Hevelius made also an extensive catalogue of stars, which he named in honor of the great Polish hero, the Firmament of Sobieski, and in touching tribute to his Catholic faith, singled out one small asterism upon which he bestowed the title of Sobieski's Shield. "Behold," he said, "the buckler of the faith which this prince has raised against the enemies of religion." The scene of astronomic activity now shifts awhile to France. In 1635 Cardinal Richelieu had founded the French Academy to emulate that of the Lincei at Rome (the first scientific academy in Europe, 1603) from this time the Academy of Science, 1666, which in turn established the Observatory of Paris. Here for two centuries an unrivaled series of astronomers labored and throughout the eighteenth century, in geodetic measurements, in planetary and gravitational astronomy France reigned supreme! The array of great names, indeed, is quite dazzling! Here Auzout and Picard first used their telescopic "sights." Here the Cassini family held rank as directors for four generations—Giovanni Domenico Cassini, the discover of Jupiter's rotation and of the satellites of Saturn, having been drawn thither from Northern Italy. Hither, too, the non-Catholic astronomers Roëmer and Huyghens were attracted by the fame of the observatory. From hence Richer took his epoch making voyage to Cayenne to investigate the spheroidal form of the earth and the diminution of gravity at the Equator. Here the geodetic expeditions of Bouguer, de la Condamine and de Maupertius were organized to establish definitely

[8] Till 1870 it remained under Jesuit direction—"since when," writes the Anglican, Hare, somewhat bitterly, "men like Carducci, the poet who glorified Satan and wrote a hymn in defense of Judas Iscariot, sit among its professors." "Walks in Rome," Vol. I., p. 56.

the shape and size of our little globe. Thence, early in the eighteenth century, the "Columbus of the Southern Skies," Abbé Nicholas Louis de la Caille, sailed to distant seas to observe over 10,000 stars between the Tropic of Capricorn and the South Pole. Here Messier, whom Louis XV. styled his "ferret of comets," paved the way for Herschel's future work, by his observance of Nebulae. Clairault and D'Alembert won fame by their solutions of the "Problems of Three Bodies," while those giants of astronomy, La Grange and La Place, wrested from Urania the secrets of "The Stability of the Solar System"[9] and the "Mechanism of the Heavens." The list is far from complete: The names of Lalande, Damoiseau, Pontecoulant and a score of others who shed lustre on the early nineteenth century, of Le Verrier, the discoverer of Neptune, of Fizeau and Foucault, whose experiments determined definitely the velocity of light, should be added, but time fails.

OBSERVATORIES UNDER CATHOLIC PATRONAGE.

The examples of Rome and Paris had now awakened the Catholic powers of Europe, who began with one accord to bestir themselves in the cause of astronomy. In 1756 Maria Theresa founded the Observatory of Vienna, placing it under Jesuit direction. Here labored Fathers Hell and Triesnecker: here, later, Palisa discovered his sixty-eight planetoid (while Charlois of Nice won 92); here also Von Oppolzer propounded his solar theory, while later Father Von Oppolzer discussed the acceleration of comets in the neighboring observatory of Josephstadt. In 1751 the Society of Jesus erected an observatory at Prague in connection with the college of the Clementinum, founded by Clement VI., 1347. Those of the Mazarin, Marseilles, Lyons, Toulouse were founded in France, partly through governmental and partly through ecclesiastical action. Bologna, long a centre of astronomical work, saw its present observatory raised in 1724, under Papal supervision. Those of Florence and Milan were in part Jesuit foundations. The former was removed to Arcetri by the Italian Government in 1870 (who were, however, too poor to equip it.) Milan held its own, thanks to the fame of its director, Giovanni Schiarparelli, whose name will be ever memorable in connection with the Canals of Mars and his measurements of double stars. In the kingdom of the two Sicilies three observatories owe their erection to royal bounty. In 1780 Prince Caramico, a lover of science, lent a ready ear to the appeal of the Theatine, Father Piazzi, and an ancient Saracenic palace at Palermo was very thoroughly if somewhat incongru-

[9] La Grange's conclusions on this subject are not now accepted absolutely.

ously equipped by him as a modern observatory (though Flaumarion calls it the "gift of Clement VII.") Thither in 1791 Father Piazzi brought his great five foot circle, the most perfect measuring instrument hitherto employed by any astronomer. He soon began his measures of the "proper motions" of stars and first called attention to the so-called "flying star" in the constellation Cygnus. (This name has been given later to a class of stars whose motions exceed the power of gravitational control to account for.) Piazzi is better known as the discoverer of the first planetoid, by whose observation he inaugurated the opening of the nineteenth century. The observatories of Naples and Catania followed that of Palermo, where De Gasperis and Tacchini vied in fame with Piazzi. Turin, Padua and Modena were outgrowths of their several universities. At Rome the Jesuits continued till the suppression of their order, when Father Calandrelli, a secular priest, replaced them till the Restoration in 1824. Then began the era of Fathers De Vico, Sestini and, above all, Secchi. Twice have the little band been put to flight—by the Revolution of '48 and again in 1870. At this last juncture Father Secchi took refuge in Georgetown, but was recalled by the protests of the scientific world. The Jesuits, however, have since equipped a distinct observatory of their own at Rome. While under Leo XIII., the Leonine Tower of the Vatican was converted into an observatory, now under the direction of Father Hagen, S. J., renowned for his "Atlas of Variable Stars." Meanwhile at Graz, in Styria, and at Lemberg in Galicia, the Jesuits established observatories, which were allowed to fall into decay on their suppression. In 1748 the Benedictine Observatory of Kremsmünster was erected; in 1753, those of Tyrnau, Hungary, and Wilna, Lithuania, Father Poczabut, S. J., being summoned to direct the latter. About 1772 those of San Antonio, Lisbon, Coimbra and Madrid, Spain, followed, and a little later the Jesuits established one at Havana in connection with the Colegio de Belen. In 1772 an observatory was erected at Mannheim by the Elector Theodore of the Palatine and committed to the care of Father Christian Mayer, whose suggestions as to physically double stars, though ridiculed at the time, have since proved so fruitful. In Northern Germany scientific work had been retarded by political troubles. But in 1789, at the persuasion of Baron Francis Xavier Von Zach, a formal astronomic congress was held at Gotha under Duke Ernest II. and the observatory of Seeburg built to become the residence of Von Zach, whose "Monatliche Correspondenz," begun in 1000, became so effective an agent in reawaking interest in astronomy—soon to see such wonderful developments! On July 1, 1801, the fall of some houses in a Munich

alley led to a shocking accident. But one survivor, an orphan boy of fourteen, escaped, alive, though injured. The Elector Maxmilian Joseph, a witness of the scene, presented the lad with a purse containing eighteen ducats. This was the first astronomical equipment of the young Fraunhofer, whose discovery of the "Fraunhofer lines" in the solar spectrum was to open a wholly new line of research, that of astro-physics, and tell the world of what the stars were made. But Fraunhofer was primarily an optician. The Optical Institute of Munich had been founded in 1804 by Von Reichenbach. Fraunhofer joined him and the two worked together at the fashioning of those giant lenses which were to revolutionize the telescope of the future and reveal the yet unsuspected wealth of creation. In 1809 the Royal Observatory of Munich was founded. In 1824 the great Dorpat lens brought Fraunhofer a title of nobility. Two years later he died from overwork at 39—a great optician and a devout Catholic. His tomb at Munich bears the words, "Approximavit Sidera!" In 1838 the Jesuits founded their observatory at Stonyhurst, England, destined to become so prominent a factor in solar work under Fathers Perry, Sidgreaves and Cortie. In 1842-43 the Jesuit Observatory of Georgetown College, D. C., was built. A few of our American observatories claim precedence, but we are told on good authority[10] that it was not until 1843, when the lectures of Dr. Mitchel awakened popular interest, deepened by the appearance of the great comet of that year, that our government was aroused to establish a national observatory. To the same causes Harvard owes its observatory. In 1878 the generosity of Cardinal Haynald equipped an observatory at Kalocsa, near Budapest. Here Von Konkoly, Fathers Schreiber and Fenyi, S. J., have pursued their solar, spectroscopic and meteorological work. The Royal Observatory, Brussels, founded in 1829, first became prominent through the demonstrations of Quetelet as to the orbit and periodicity of the famous meteor stream of 1833—the connection of these fiery showers with the débris of superannuated comets being a subject ably pursued by Catholic astronomers from Le Verrier to Schiarparelli. In staunch Protestant Holland, at Valkenburgh in 1896, an observatory was erected on the northeast corner of St. Ignatius' College. Its "equatorial" was exhibited at the late World's Fair, Chicago. Its special work, under Fathers Baur and Hisgen, is in variable star-observation. Finally, in 1902 and 1904, the Observatories of Granada and Tortosa, Spain, under Jesuit direction, were added to our list of observatories founded under Catholic patronage.

[10] Clerke: "History of Astronomy in the Nineteenth Century," p. 8.

Turning now to the Church's work in missionary fields, we find that from earliest times the Catholic missionary has been a noted contributor to scientific record. We have seen how the early Celtic missionary first gave the European astronomers knowledge of the strange celestial phenomena of the far North. In like manner the priests who accompanied the Portuguese navigators to Goa, India, and those who sailed Westward with Columbus brought us tidings of the Southern skies. "The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India," by Pietro Martire d'Aughiera, an Italian writer, anglicized by Richard Eden, of Mary Tudor's time, give us frequent glimpses of their work, including a mention of the Southern Cross—the double and multiple nature of whose chief stars was first recognized by the Jesuits Fontaney, Noel and Richaud in 1681. So the Dominicans and Franciscans who followed Cortez to Mexico have given us a detailed account of the Aztec system of astronomy. The Dominicans and Fathers of Mercy with Pizarro have done the same for Peru. Humboldt's account of his voyages to Latin America are full of allusions to the scientific labors of these holy men. Piedrahita, Bishop of Panama, in his "Historia General de las Conquistas," (Madrid, 1688) gives similar annals. "Our first detailed knowledge" (of ancient astronomy,) writes Professor Forbes, of Glasgow,[11] "was gathered by travelers and by the Jesuit priests. The two principal sources of knowledge about Chinese astronomy were supplied first by Father Souciet, who in 1729 published 'observations, astronomical,' etc., drawn from ancient Chinese books, and later by Father Moyriac de Mailla, who, in 1777-1785, published the 'Annals of the Chinese Empire,' translated from Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou." The French astronomer Jean Sylvain Bailly obtained the materials for his "Histories of Hindu and Oriental Astronomies" from the tables and records furnished him by French missionaries. The monumental researches of Fathers Epping, Strassmaier and Kugler in the field of Babylonian astronomy are too well known to need quotation. So, too, is that of Père Scheil. Father Kircher was the first of Egyptologists. But the most systematic astronomical work has been that of the Jesuit missionaries in connection with their regularly founded observatories. Shortly before the year 1600 Père Schall, S. J., became tutor to the young prince, Cham-hi, who when he mounted the throne of China, summoned the Jesuits to the charge of the royal department of mathematics. In 1668, just a year after the foundation of the Paris Observatory, a sister institute was equipped in distant Peking, under Father Verbiest. Here Fathers Gouye, Fontaney, Ricci, Gautil and Souciet continued to do admirable

[11] Clerke, "Short History of Astronomy," p. 9.

work until the "suppression." The Losé Observatory, near Shanghai, is now in the hands of the Jesuits. Its present director, Father Chevalier, recently received the Logerot gold metal from the Paris Geographical Society as well as a prize of three thousand francs from the French Academy for astronomical meteorological work. The Jesuit Observatory of Tananarivo, Madagascar, is doing excellent geodetic work. Incidentally it is the highest in the world, 1400 meters above the sea level (Lick Observatory being only 1300 meters.) The Geographical Society of Paris some few years since bestowed upon its directors, Father Colin and Roblet, the Herbert Fournet prize (the greatest at their disposal) for their map of Madagascar. Jesuit missionary maps have won a high reputation. Behind this brief statement he hid many thrilling tales of danger and adventure in mountain passes or on thirsty, trackless deserts, upon which we may not enter. The Observatory of St. Francis Xavier, near Calcutta, was founded by Father Lafont, who was made Fellow of the University of Calcutta and received the decoration of the "Indian Star." That of Manila began its present work in 1865, although astronomic observations had been taken for some years previously. Father Algué, its director (1904) has rendered valuable service to the shipping interests of the far East. His barocyclometer is on board every ship. But the "Atlas of the Philippines" will appeal more to American readers. In 1900 he was invited by the United States Government to superintend the printing of the large work, "El Archipielago Filipino." It comprises thirty maps of 1725 islands, with an area of nearly 12,000 square miles. Professor H. S. Pritchett, superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, pronounced it the best yet made. ["Jesuit Astronomy" pamphlet by Fathers Schreiber and Rigge, S. J.]

We have now reached a point where the numbers and activity of Catholic astronomers have become so manifold as to render farther outline impossible in this brief sketch. Moreover, the secularization of Europe on foundations withdraws them from Church patronage. Yet the old foundations continue in the forefront of activity, and to any who desire to follow their course farther, either along the trodden lines of work or in the newer departments of astral physics or celestial photography—as in the magnificent scheme inaugurated under Admiral Mouchez and the Brothers Henry, of the Paris Observatory—the standing and ability of Catholic astronomers will become at once apparent, as we trust the Church's attitude toward the same has already become.

E. Von Rycken Wilson.

New York.

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN—A CHAPTER OF MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

Sven Magnus Gronberger, the author of this, was a native of Sweden, who came to this country about thirty years ago, worked in a drug store in New York for a time, studied law in the offices of the late Judge Samuel Maddox, and gradually gave himself a higher education, until he secured a place on the library staff of the Smithsonian Institution. While there he wrote a series of monographs in anthropology and zoology, and was just about to receive his Ph. D. when he died of cancer, April 24, 1916. He felt himself that he owed his conversion partly to his studies, partly to the example of a Catholic employer who had been extremely kind to him when he first came to this country and worked in a drug store. Gronberger came to know him as a very faithful Catholic, whose life exemplified his faith. He was finally won over to the Church by the kindness of the good Dominican Sisters who when he was just past thirty nursed him through a severe illness at St. Catherine's Hospital, in Brooklyn. As I said in a sketch of him which appeared in the "Ave Maria" November 18 and 25, 1916, he knew enough to make him a Catholic before this, for he had studied the subject carefully; it is not the intellect that makes converts eventually, however, but the heart. "The charm of the simple, straightforward activity for the benefit of others of the good Dominican Sisters, and above all the spirit of abiding faith in all they did, touched Gronberger's heart until he finally felt compelled to become a Catholic."

The conversion of Gronberger is all the more interesting because he had an eminently scientific mind, and many people seem to think that science and faith are at least somewhat incompatible. Not long after his conversion Gronberger gave up the law and became assistant librarian at the Smithsonian Library in Washington. He knew practically all the modern languages, especially the Scandinavian, talked French like a native, because it was the family language at home, and knew Latin and Greek well. It is easy to understand how useful he was in the library, but he was not satisfied with work for others. He made a series of independent scientific researches. He wrote a series of papers on scientific subjects in Washington, one rather exhaustive monograph on the "Palearctic Birds of Greenland," another on "The Frogs of the District of Columbia," and he had written monographs on "The Origin of the Goths" and the use of museums for popular education. Instead of losing his faith in the midst of these varied scientific studies it became ever deeper and stronger, and as a form of thank offering for his conversion and the consolation that the Church had proved to him for more than a dozen years of busy scientific life, he wanted to write something particularly Catholic, so he devoted himself during leisure hours to a sketch of the life of one of the great old patron saints of his native country, Sweden, consulting all the available sources in this country as well as memorials from Sweden to make it as complete as possible.

St. Brigitt, or Brigid or Bridget, of Sweden is one of the great women educators as well as saints of the pre-Reformation period. The famous Monastery of Syon, where that beautiful cope was made which is one of the precious treasures of the South Kensington Museum, London, and whose library was recently brought into prominence by the republication of its catalogue by Miss Bateson, was a Brigittine foundation made from the famous mother monastery of Vadstena, in Sweden. The English and Swedish royal families intermarried then as they do now, and Philippa,

the English Queen of Sweden, wanted to benefit her native country by giving it the benefit of one of these foundations which she herself had found so interesting and valuable and which had proved such a refuge in the early days of her life in Sweden when she was homesick in a strange land. Very naturally a Swedish convert like Gronberger would turn to write the story of these glorious old Church times in Sweden; hence this life of St. Brigitt is a tribute of gratitude and an earnest of the good judgment of this very intelligent Swedish Catholic.

JAMES J. WALSH.

THE history of Scandinavia, when compared with that of the rest of Europe, commenced late. The earliest mention of that remote part of the world was made by Pytheas, a Greek navigator, born at Massilia, the present Marseille, in the fourth century before Christ. It should also be remembered that Tacitus, in his history entitled "Germania,"[1] referred to the inhabitants of Scandinavia as "Suiones," or "Swedes."[2] With the introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia in the ninth century by St. Ansgarius, otherwise known as St. Ansgar or Anskar, a French prelate from Corbie, near Amiens, in France, its history becomes better known, and toward the latter part of the eleventh century Adam of Bremen, in his remarkable work on the Archbishops of Hamburg and Bremen, devoted a great deal of attention to the condition of the northern kingdom. In the year 826 Harold the Sixth, King of Denmark, came to the city of Mayence, or Mainz, in Germany, accompanied by his wife and son, and asked for baptism and a priest to return with him to Denmark. It was then that St. Ansgar volunteered his services. After a long stay in Scandinavia the latter returned to Germany and was made Archbishop of Hamburg in 834 and of Bremen in 849. Four years later he went to Sweden and was received with open arms by the King and inhabitants, whereupon he returned to Germany, where he died, as Archbishop of Hamburg, in 865.

With the Christianization of Scandinavia, and especially Sweden, a new era commenced for that kingdom and heathen practices and worship were gradually relegated to the past—a process requiring perhaps several centuries. Toward the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, it may be considered that Christianity, the faith and teachings of the Catholic Church, had secured a firm foothold in that northern land. The religious and spiritual life of the period, which in the south of Europe had received the impulse of the noble and self-sacrificing faith of Christ from the beginning of the Christian era, or at least since the time of the Council of Nicea in 325 and the Christianization of the Roman Empire by Constantine the Great, had already commenced to show signs of moral weakness

[1] "De Origine, Situ, Moribus ac Populis Germaniae."

[2] "Gotones" and "Gothini," Goths.

and decay, due chiefly to the maladministration of holy offices by a priesthood rendered corrupt by growing ecclesiastical wealth and luxury. One of the earliest voices to be raised against the moral degradation of the period was William Durandus, surnamed the Speculator, the famous prelate and jurist who suggested to Pope Clement V. that the Church needed rejuvenation and regeneration in all its members.[3] Another famous character who was to appear shortly after Durandus' time, and who is the subject of this sketch, is St. Bridget of Sweden, by many called the great St. Bridget, who, although always a loyal daughter of the Church, raised an earnest voice and uttered a loud note of warning against the disintegrating tendencies of the mediæval Church.

On the eastern shore of Lake Vetter in Sweden there is a small town named Vadstena, the picturesque outlines of which are beautifully reflected in the crystal clear waters of the lake. As the traveler approaches the town there loom up in the distance the towers of a splendidly preserved castle built by Gustavus Vasa, celebrated in Swedish history and folklore by the romantic adventures of the Princess Cecilia Vasa and her lover, Count John of Ostfriesland. The dungeon where the latter was confined for a number of years as a punishment for his gallantry is still pointed out to visitors, and a window is also shown from which, on a bright moonlight night, Gustavus' son, the demented Duke Magnus of Ostrogothia, enticed by the Lady of the Lake, is said to have leaped into the waters surrounding the castle. The greatest historical association connected with this little town, however, is the name of the great S. Bridget of Sweden. In this place may be seen to-day the original Brittine monastery with its picturesque walls and apple orchards, as well as the old monastery church adjoining it. When the visitor enters these ancient precincts permeated by the fragrance of mediæval mysticism and romance and stands upon the ground trod by a saintly woman whose name and achievements half a thousand years have been unable to efface, he is mentally and almost against his will carried back to a time when the name of Scandinavia's most famous daughter resounded throughout the Christian world. The period in which that woman lived was one of the most stirring in history, and remarkable from many other points of view than that here under consideration.

The ancestors of St. Bridget or, more properly, Birgitta or Brigitta, were the kings of the Folkunga dynasty of Sweden. One of these was Judge or "Lagman" Magnus Minneskjold, the owner of the beautifunl castle of Ulfosa, on the southern shore of Lake Boren, in Ostrogothia. His son was the famous Birger of Bjelbo,

[3] "Eam in capite, quam in membris."

or Birger Jarl, regent of Sweden during the minority of his son Waldemar (1250-1266) and founder of Stockholm. His brother Benedict of "Bengt," the heir of Ulfosa, had married a poor girl of noble family, and these were the grandparents of Birgitta. His wife was called "Skön Sigrid," or beautiful Sigrid, and her only daughter Ingeborg married Birger Peterson, a descendant of St. Eric and Judge or "Lagman" of Upland. It is said of Birger that he, being a very pious man, like his father and grandfather before him, intended to visit Rome, Compostella and Palestine in order to worship at the sacred shrines in these places. It appears, however, that he only got as far as Rome, where Pope Boniface VIII., for reasons unknown to history, dissuaded him from proceeding farther and enjoined him to return home. His wife Ingeborg had three sons, Peter, Benedict and Israel, and four daughters, Ingrid, Margaret and Catherine, the last being our Birgitta, or St. Bridget.

Although the exact year of her birth is not known with certainty, it is commonly believed that she was born in the year 1303 at the palace of Finstad (not Instad), in the district of Roslagen, Upland. She was spoken of in the bull of her canonization as *"Vidua Birgitta, quam vulgares Brigidam appellant,"* and her religious feast day was fixed on the eighth of October, or, as the *"Acta Sanctorum"* has it, *"Octava Octobris."* Physically she seems to have been of somewhat small stature, and as a child remained mute until she was nearly four years of age, when, according to tradition, she suddenly commenced to speak with the perfection of an adult. It should be remembered that the history of St. Bridget of Sweden is surrounded with a good deal of obscurity, owing to the remote period and the comparatively little known country in which she lived, although in contrast with the somewhat legendary St. Bridget of Ireland she is an entirely historical personage. Probably in the year 1314, and before Birgitta was 12 years of age, her mother died and she was placed in the care of a maternal aunt named Ingrid, the wife of Lagman Knut Jonsson of Aspenäs, in Ostrogothia. This Ingrid is said to have been a woman of great austerity and opposed to all spiritual and sentimental exaggerations. Whether or not Bridget was taught to read and write under her supervision is not well known, but that she was made proficient in manual occupations, such as sewing, embroidery, etc., is quite certain. She early developed a strong religious tendency and is said to have had her first vision when about eight years of age. Christ's passion was her favorite subject, and thereafter she is said to have had almost constant visions or revelations. One night, as she was kneeling before a crucifix and trembling with the cold of her apartment, she was surprised by her Aunt Ingrid, who is said to have scolded her se-

verely for her folly in getting out of bed in the middle of the night for such a purpose and proceeded to apply the rod to the child. At the first touch, however, the rod broke and crumbled to pieces, after which event Ingrid changed her tactics in the treatment of her youthful charge. When she had reached her thirteenth year her father, according to the severe customs of the times, announced to her not only that he wished her to marry, but that he had selected a suitable young man as her husband. This youth was Ulf Gudmarson, the son of Gudmar Magnusson, a Lagman of Westrogothia and a close personal and political friend of her father. Ulf was then only a stripling of 19 years of age, but the customs of the period sanctioned early marriages. The wedding, which probably took place in 1316, was at first very much against Bridget's personal inclination and two years are supposed to have elapsed before the couple entered into the marriage relation. Bridget would very much have preferred to remain single and lead a strictly religious life, but her filial duty and devotion seem to have overcome any conscientious scruples she may have had. As time wore on, Bridget bore her husband no less than eight children, the oldest of whom was her son Karl, and then Birger, Martha, Gudmar, Catherine, afterward beatified as St. Catherine, the national saint of Sweden; Ingeborg, Benedict and the daughter Cecilia. Nils Hermansson, a priest, who afterward died as Bishop of Linköping, the episcopal seat of the diocese embracing Ostrogothia, was selected as tutor for her children.

The scene of the quiet and serene home life which now followed was the castle of Ulfosa, perhaps so named after Bridget's husband, Ulf. At this period Bridget had become widely known for her deep piety and charity, and at Ulfosa she assembled around her daily the women and children of her estate, whom she taught needlework, partly for the ornamentation of churches and partly to assist the poor, while she herself read to them passages from the Bible or from some of the religious books of which the period was so productive. Here also Bridget set apart a large house, in which the sick and the poor were given a hospitable asylum; she cared for them personally and is said to have washed their feet in imitation of the Saviour; nor did she shrink from attending those afflicted with contagious and loathsome diseases. Like all the rest of her family, she was an obedient child of the Catholic Church, and had selected as her spiritual adviser and father confessor one Mathias, Canon of the Cathedral of Linköping. This priest had graduated as master of theology and philosophy at the University of Paris, and Bridget caused him to translate the Bible into Swedish,

a fragment of which, a paraphrase from the Pentateuch, is still in existence.

Pilgrimages or visits to holy places, no matter how distant, formed one of the principal expressions of the piety of this period—a fact calculated to arouse our admiration in view of the primitive traveling facilities of that age. During the Middle Ages these consisted chiefly of foot-travel, horseback riding, the use of asses and donkeys and horse or oxcarts. The first pilgrimage which Bridget and her husband undertook was made to the tomb of St. Olaf, at Drontheim, or Trondhjem, in Norway, a saint of great renown in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages. This pilgrimage probably took place between 1335 and 1337 A. D. The second and by far the more important pilgrimage was made in 1341, according to one of Ulf's original manuscripts, to Santiago de Compostella, in Northwestern Spain, the journey being commenced on May 22 of that year. On the way to Compostella the pilgrims visited Cologne, the ancient Colonia Agrippinensis, where they worshipped at the tombs of the Magi; Aix-la-Chappelle, where the cathedral and the supposed burial place of Charlemagne became the objects of their attention, and Tarascon, where reposed the bones of St. Martha. At the latter place the pilgrims ascended Mont Saint-Baume in order to worship in the grotto where Mary Magdalen, according to tradition, had spent many years in solitude and meditation solaced by the angels. Finally Compostella was reached, and here the tomb of St. James was at once visited. This St. James, the elder one of that name, had been beheaded at the command of the Jewish King Herodes I. Agrippa and, according to an old Spanish tradition, had for some years previously labored as a Christian apostle in Spain. After his execution in Palestine his remains are said to have been brought to Northwestern Spain and interred there, and later, in the ninth century, they were disinterred and, at royal command, brought to Compostella and there entombed in a magnificent church. This tradition has been discredited by Protestant historians, but the fact remains that from the earliest Christian times the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella has been looked upon as the final resting place of the relics of St. James, the national saint of Spain, and as such it has been and still remains the object of innumerable pilgrimages. From Compostella the pilgrims returned to Scandinavia, and it is said that, according to the custom of the period, each member of the pilgrimage had received a mussel shell, to be worn on the left side of the mantle, in token of the accomplished pilgrimage. At Arras, in Northern France, Bridget's husband, Ulf, fell dangerously ill and for a time his life was despaired of, but he eventually recovered, at least sufficiently to resume the homeward journey.

It has been maintained by some that upon their return to Sweden Ulf Gudmarson now became a confirmed invalid and his spouse resolved to resign the world and enter a convent. Such an intention on their part, however, is subject to considerable doubt, or at least it was not immediately realized. On March 19, 1343, Ulf was still "Lagman" in Nericia, and on that day visited the Cistercian Convent of Rieseberga, in which his daughter Ingeborg was a nun. On November 18 of the same year Ulf was present at the negotiations carried on between the Swedish King Magnus II., "Smek," and the Danish King Waldemar Atterdag. It seems, therefore, hardly probable that he could have had time to enter the Cistercian Monastery of Alvastra in the quality of a monk, and that he and Bridget had been enabled to carry out their resolution to abandon the world for the rest of their lives and devote themselves exclusively to the Church, even if such had been their intention while Ulf was still alive. The fact remains that Ulf died at Alvastra without, however, having assumed monastic orders, and was buried within the precincts of the monastery. Upon his death it seems that his widow, Bridget, immediately endeavored to sacrifice his memory as unworthy of one who had resolved henceforth to lead a strictly religious and spiritual life, unfettered by worldly attractions. Even the token of a ring which Ulf had placed upon her finger could not dissuade her from this purpose.

At the time of her husband's death Bridget's son Gudmar had already died, and her eldest daughter, Margaretha or Martha, who was born about 1320, had married, much against her mother's will, a nobleman by name of Sigvid Ribbing, a man of the world, whose reputation was none of the best. Benedict or Bengt had also died at an early age, but the sons Karl and Birger still survived. Birger was her favorite son, while Karl caused her much worry on account of his "worldliness" and gallant habits. The three youngest children were Catherine, who was born about 1332, and married to the Knight Eggard Lyderson van Kyren; Ingeborg, who became a nun in the Convent of Riseberga, in Nericia, about 1341, and Cecilia, who did not join the Church and was probably unmarried at the time of her father's death.

The reigning King of Sweden and Norway at this time was Magnus Eriksson, surnamed "Smek," on account of his effeminate manners.[4] Magnus had married Blanche, daughter of the Comte de Namur. It has been stated that Bridget was appointed Grand Mistress of the Palace or Mistress of the Robes to Queen Blanche, as in the Latin text of the *"Revelationes extravagantes,"* chapter 59, a mention is made of the time when Bridget was *"Magistra*

[4] "Smek" or "smeka" in Swedish means to flatter, caress, cajole.

Reginae Blancae quondam Reginae Suetiae." This chapter is not found in the Swedish text, nor is the circumstance mentioned in any of the contemporaneous biographies, although the fact remains that she maintained intimate relations with the court. As a woman of high birth and a relative of the royal family, she naturally had access to the highest society circles and even to the court, although her connection with the latter seems chiefly to have been in the nature of a spiritual guide and teacher of morals. She even went so far as to lay down minute rules of conduct for the King, and in extenuation of the shortcomings of the latter it must be said that had he been able to guide himself entirely in accordance with Bridget's precepts, he would have deserved to share her own reputation as a saint.

Queen Blanche is said to have taken a great fancy to Bridget from the commencement of their acquaintance. The Queen soon began to look upon the older woman as a second mother, as she was then only 16 or 17 years of age, and had become a mother before she was 15. The fame of Bridget's piety had now spread far and wide, and many sought the assistance of one who was supposed to maintain such close relationship with God and His saints. But there were also many who were disagreeably impressed by her strict requirements of piety and purity, and especially was this the case with the higher aristocracy of the capital, Stockholm. It was even whispered that she was a witch, and serious harm might have befallen her but for the fear of her powerful family and gallant sons. An example of this may be cited, the truth of which has been vouched for: Squite Knut (Canute) Folkesson, a man of high birth and also a relative of Bridget, observed with secret displeasure that the King, guided by her counsel, was leading a better and more moral life, which naturally tended to lessen his own influence on the monarch. Knut did not hesitate to give free vent to his resentment. One day, as Bridget was walking along one of the narrow streets of Stockholm and passed by a house where Folkesson, knowing of her approach, had stationed himself, he opened one of the windows and emptied the contents of a vessel of dirty water on the head of the passing widow. This is only a minor instance of the humiliations which Bridget had to endure, but she bore all her trials with much patience and humility, and is said to have prayed for her enemies, after the teaching of Christ. Once Bridget was told that a certain priest had received a commission as taxgatherer and that he was very severe in his exactions from the poor people. She spoke to the King about the matter, and as a result the priest lost his job—a fact which he bitterly resented and took Bridget severely to task for her interference. After several

remonstrations and the priest still remaining obdurate, Bridget finally told him that unless he mended his ways and improved his morals, God would mete out a severe judgment to him. A short time afterward this priest perished in a miserable manner—in the founding of a church bell the mould burst and he was caught in the molten metal and burnt to death. Innumerable instances of a similar nature were related of Bridget and greatly added to her reputation as a prophetess and a foreteller of future events.

While still at the court of Stockholm Bridget had several revelations, of which the following is typical: "I saw the heavens very dim and darkened, although the sun and moon were shining brightly. Good and evil angels seemed to be fighting with the sun and moon. The bad angels did not get the upper hand until a terrible dragon appeared, before which the sun first paled and then became black and the moon fled behind the earth. And then, when I looked at the earth, I saw that it was full of reptiles and serpents which devoured everything on its surface and killed the inhabitants with their tails until the sun fell from the heavens and the place of the moon was found no more." This vision, which remained a mystery to Bridget for eleven years, and probably had reference to the future calamities of the Church, is a typical example of mediæval religious mysticism.

It is said that after leaving the court Bridget and Ulf returned to Ulfosa, although their movements at this period are somewhat obscure. Bridget, who had intended to fit up the old castle somewhat more luxuriously, is said to have experienced one day a violent blow on her head and heard a voice saying, "When I hung upon the cross, I had no place whereon to rest My head, but thou seekest comfort and rest for thine." From that time on she is said to have slept upon some straw covered with bearskin or on the bare floor, and to have worn a shirt of horsehair next to her body, which is known to be a very severe physical discomfort. At the time of the birth of her last child, which caused her much suffering, she had a vision of the Holy Virgin, who is supposed to have safely delivered her.

As already indicated, Ulf Gudmarson died at the Monastery of Alvastra in the year 1344. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Monastery and Church of Alvastra are situated about twelve miles from Vadstena, in a beautiful location at the foot of Mount Omberg, in Ostrogothia, near Lake Vetter, and the picturesque ruins of the monastery are still to be seen. Shortly after the death of her husband Bridget secured permission to take up her residence in a house situated on the northern side of the monastery church at Alvastra, and not, as has been stated, in a cell in the mon-

astery proper. This would have been quite impossible owing to the severe rules of the Cistercian Order, which required the strict separation of monks and nuns. According to a tradition, Bridget is said to have lived in this secluded retreat for a period of about four years, which is not strictly in accordance with the truth, as she seems to have been much inclined to travel, her lodging, of course, being reserved for her during these periodical absences.

Among other things, it appears that the prior or abbot of Alvastra had accorded Christian burial to an excommunicated person, which was considered a serious offense against ecclesiastical discipline. Bridget, who had been present at the Requiem Mass, was told in one of her visions that the prior had been tempted by avarice to this action and that God would soon cause the prior's death. When she had told the prior of these revelations he became sincerely penitent and died three days later, as it is canonically termed, "a good death." At Alvastra Bridget also met the monk Peter Olafsson, well known for learning and piety, who became her future confessor and accompanied her on her foreign pilgrimages.

In one of her visions at Alvastra Bridget claimed to have beheld her husband in Purgatory, and he told her that God had especially reproved him for his fondness of banquets, the fact that in his young days he had loved wine "not wisely, but too well," for his love of the chase, horses and hounds, rich clothing and furniture, etc.

Bridget's life at Alvastra was of a very austere nature. At the time of her husband's death she had donned a rope of horsehair around her body, tied into many knots, and from her knees to her ankles she wore the same kind of cords tightly bound. These were never removed, not even in illness. Over a shirt, also made of horsehair, she wore a dress of coarse homespun material, and the only linen she used was a veil; linen had at that period only recently been introduced in Sweden and must have been considered a luxury. She fasted on four days of the week and her nights were mostly spent in prayers. On Fridays she subsisted only on bread and water, and she was in the habit of chewing gentian root, in imitation of the gall and vinegar given to Christ on the cross. Every night she recited the Rosary, sometimes prostrate on the floor in the form of a cross, and at other times she used to kneel and kiss the ground at each Ave Maria.

While at Alvastra she is also said to have predicted the death of a lay Brother named Gerrechinus, one of the inmates of the monastery, who had appeared scandalized by the thought of a woman becoming a postulant there. He is reported to have said, "What would our holy father, Bernard (of Clairvaux), have said to this?

He would not even look at his own sister unveiled." The Brother, however, did not give expression to his thoughts, but kept his own counsel. Finally it was announced to him in a vision that Bridget knew the secret of his thoughts, and that she would shortly predict his own death. Seeking an interview with Bridget, the latter at first refused to see him, but at length consented and told the Brother that he would die within one year, which he did while Bridget was still connected with the monastery.

After one year's seclusion in her cell it appears that she received a direct divine command to proceed to Stockholm, where she met her sons Birger and Karl at the court of King Magnus. As she had been assured in advance that God would inspire her speech, she intrepidly demanded an audience of the King. In a speech of burning eloquence she reprimanded him for his immorality and tyranny and threatened him with divine vengeance in case he did not abandon his evil course. At the request of Queen Blanche she remained at the court for some time, although subject to much persecution by certain people, who were either jealous of her prominence at court or entertained doubts as to her prophetic powers. Even among the clergy she had her enemies, and one of these was Hemming, Bishop of Abo, in Finland, who once invited her to dine with him and induced her to partake of some of the choice dishes that were served. At heart he was scandalized at the thought of a professed ascete indulging her appetite to such an extent, and shortly afterward his thoughts were revealed to Bridget through divine channels. She then told him of this revelation, reproved him on behalf of the Lord and their acquaintance later ripened into friendship.

Bridget's austere life and the many privations and tortures to which she voluntarily submitted herself at length undermined her health and she fell seriously ill. This was no cause for wonder, as we are also told that this frail little woman was in the habit of depriving herself of water to quench her thirst until she could hardly speak, and that on Fridays she used to drop on her bare arms the burning wax from the candles lighted before the altar in the chapel of the monastery. Although cared for by as competent physicians as the period afforded, her malady and subsequent convalescence were slow and tedious.

Shortly after Bridget's recovery from this illness she claimed to have received a divine command or inspiration to found a new religious order, and that the Lord had dictated its rules to her word for word. When the idea of establishing a new order first occurred to Bridget cannot now be definitely stated, but that it happened while her husband was still alive is shown by the fact that the lat-

ter before he died donated a house and lot to the intended convent. In addition to this, not less than thirteen distinct pieces of property were presented to Bridget for this purpose by King Magnus and Queen Blanche, but only the property at Vadstena eventually came into the possession of the convent. The new order, which was Bridget's chief religious accomplishment, has been variously referred to as the Order of the Most Holy Saviour *(Ordo Sanctissimi Salvatoris)*, St. Salvator, the Order of St. Bridget, or the Brigantine Order, and was created in honor of the Virgin. It was to consist of sixty Sisters and twenty-five monks, the monks and nuns, however, to be kept in separate houses communicating with the church and the lower choir, and the nuns' choir was to be placed above in such a position as to enable them to listen to the offices of the monks. The number of priests was to be thirteen, in honor of the apostles, including St. Paul; four deacons, in honor of the four great Latin fathers of the Church, Saints Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, and eight lay Brothers, making twenty-five monks, together with sixty Sisters, or in all, eighty-five members, representing the thirteen apostles and the seventy-two disciples. Of these, the priests were to be occupied solely in the divine service, prayer and study; in addition to which they were to preach to the people every Sunday in the secular language. Severe, chaste and abstemious living and much fasting were strictly prescribed. On their vestments the members of the order wore the insignia or symbol of Christ's passion, consisting in the case of the Sisters of a circle of white linen worn over the veil with five small pieces of red cloth, in remembrance of the five wounds of Christ and His crown of thorns, and they also had to wear a gold ring as mark of their espousal of the Saviour.

The priests wore, sewn on the left side of their mantles, a cross made of red cloth with a piece of white cloth in the middle, in the form of a Host. The deacons had white rings on their mantles, on which were sewn four pieces of red cloth, resembling tongues and emblematic of the Holy Ghost. Finally, the mantles of the lay Brothers were marked with a white cross, on which were likewise five red patches.

The abbess was to be elected as general superior by the advice and consent of the Bishop of the diocese, and she was to choose a priest as confessor of the convent, with the consent of the full chapter, and he in his turn was to receive his credentials from the Bishop. To the former the monks should owe the same allegiance as the nuns to the abbess. The Bishop of the diocese was to be the general visitor or superintendent of both monks and nuns and their general arbiter; the reigning sovereign was to be their patron

and protector, but the court of last appeal was, of course, to be the Pope. In all matters not expressly dictated by the constitution or rule of the order, which consisted of twenty-four chapters, the rules of either St. Benedict or St. Bernard were to apply.

Bridget claimed that all of these rules and suggestions which applied to her order had been dictated to her personally by the Lord in her revelations, she writing them down in Swedish and Master Mathias translating them into Latin, a function which was later transferred to Brother Peter Olafsson. The latter, it appears, was troubled with conscientious scruples and doubts as to the genuineness of the revelations. Once when he was kneeling down before the Sacrament, beseeching God to enlighten him and had almost decided that he was too humble and unfit a creature for so holy a duty, he was struck a blow by an unseen hand which stretched him prostrate on the floor of the church and made him unconscious for some time. Upon recovering, however, he realized that God had chastised him in so effective a manner for his doubts, and he decided to comply with the divine command. What an incentive to righteousness if the Lord would walk about boxing people's ears as a fatherly correction in our own day, as He seems to have done in times of old! The following day Peter went to see Bridget about the matter, and she at once forestalled him by stating that God had already acquainted her with what had happened to his servant Peter. This episode is significant as indicating to what extent it was at that time popularly supposed that God interfered in the minute affairs and daily lives of men. Shortly afterward Peter was elected prior of Alvastra Monastery, during the occupancy of which office he continued to translate Bridget's revelations into Latin. In so doing he was commanded not to use his own discretion in the matter, but to follow literally the revelations as put down by the saint. The Lord, however, enjoined him afterward to write an explanation of the degrees of humility taught him by the rule of St. Benedict and a few other secular matters, which are contained in the *"Additiones"* to the rules of the Brigittine order.

It was about this time that the town of Vadstena was selected by divine command as the site for the first convent of the new order. Bridget now decided to visit Vadstena and she traveled to that town on horseback, accompanied by a few friends, as was the custom of the time. While absorbed in prayer on this trip she is said to have had one of her most wonderful visions, the original description of which is to be found in the fifth book of her *"Revelationes,"* commonly called the *"Liber Questionum."* Upon her arrival at Vadstena she carefully inspected the apartments of what

some have called her ancestral castle, now to be transformed into a convent. While doing this, God is supposed to have given her minute and detailed directions as to the rebuilding and arrangements necessary for such a purpose.

We have now arrived at a most important epoch of Bridget's life and one which would prove the crowning point of her career. For a long time it had been her pious intention to make a pilgrimage to Rome. The objects which prompted her to undertake this long and for that period troublesome and expensive journey were several, the chief ones being to obtain the Papal sanction for her order and to secure a larger sphere of action for her mission which was the moral uplifting of the period.

It will be remembered that at this time the Roman Pontiffs, owing to the tempestuous state of Italian politics and especially the factional strife of the Roman nobility, had taken up their abode at Avignon. This city remained the seat of the Papal Court from 1309, when Clement V. established his residence there, until 1376, or three years after the death of St. Bridget, when Gregory XI. left it and returned to Rome. Immediately following the last mentioned date a period intervened which is called the great schism of the West, during which two anti-Popes, Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., took up their residence at Avignon, while at Rome, on the death of Gregory XI., in 1378, Bartolomeo Prignano was elected Pontiff by a majority of the Conclave under the name of Urban VI. This condition continued until the Council of Pisa in 1409, at which both Popes, the Roman Pope Gregory XII. and the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII. (Pedro Luna) were deposed and Alexander V. was elected in their stead. The latter, however, died a few months later and was succeeded by John XXIII., who convoked the famous Council of Constanz in 1414, at which John Huss was burned as a heretic, and during which not only the action of the Council of Pisa was confirmed, but John XXIII. himself deposed and Otto Colonna elected as his successor, under the title of Martin V. One of the claimants, however, Benedict XIII., maintained obstinately his right to the Papal chair and title until his death in 1424, although the schism may be considered to have come to an end in 1417 with the election of Martin V.

This digression from our subject has been necessary in order to comprehend the condition of the times and the difficulties which Bridget had to face. Peter Olafsson had asked and obtained from his superiors leave for himself and another monk also named Peter to accompany Bridget to Rome, both of whom from this time on remained her companions until the end. It was probably toward the close of A. D. 1346 that Bridget finally left Alvastra, never more

to return, taking also with her a third priest named Magnus Petersson and a retinue of a few pious Swedish women; some maintain, however, that she went to Rome accompanied by a much larger escort. In view of the primitive traveling facilities of the period, the extent of the journey and the variety of climates the pilgrims had to encounter, one can hardly refrain from admiring the pluck and religious zeal which must have animated this little party of northern pilgrims. In the Latin text of Bridget's revelations it is stated that the travelers passed through the town of Stralsund. As there existed considerable commerce between this city and Sweden, it is very likely that they arrived on some merchantman plying between the two places. Quite an extended stay was made at Milan, where Bridget performed her devotions at the shrine of St. Ambrose. One of her friends and companions, Ingeborg Lorensdotter (*Laurentii filia,* or daughter of St. Lawrence) married to one Nils Dannäs, died while the pilgrims were in Milan. Later manuscripts also mention a visit to Genoa, where Bridget is supposed to have secured passage for herself and company by sea to Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, from which place they proceeded by foot to the Eternal City.

In the spring of 1347 the travelers are said to have reached Rome. This cautious statement is advisedly made, as historians differ as to whether she started on her journey in 1346, some maintaining and, as it appears, on good grounds, that it was in 1349, while still others fix the year 1350; but at any rate, it would appear that they had reached Rome before the close of the year 1349. The party found Rome in a state of deplorable desolation and bewilderment. According to Muratori, there was no respect for the law, no safety for person or property, no reverence for womanhood and no pity for the poor. All the churches were neglected, and in St. Peter's and St. John Lateran sheep, goats and cattle were grazing up to the very altar steps. Another contemporaneous historian sums up the condition of Rome at this time as follows: "The city of Rome was in the direst distress. There was no responsible government. Every day and everywhere there were fights and robberies. Men violated nuns, even children, and wives were torn away from their husbands. Outside of the gates of Rome laborers were robbed on their way to work. Pilgrims were plundered and murdered. Priests turned miscreants. There was no crime, no injustice which was not practiced without restraint. There was no security for life and limb. The power of the sword was supreme, against which self-defense, organized between friends and relatives, was the only alternative. Multitudes of armed people could be seen daily." This is a

graphic description of the condition of Rome when Bridget arrived in that city.

On August 18, 1349, Pope Clement VI. had invited all faithful Christians to Rome in order to celebrate the Papal jubilee fixed for the year 1350, although this event had originally been set for the beginning of each century only, the last jubilee of this character having been celebrated in 1300. It was partly in obedience to this summons that Bridget had decided to visit Rome, and her other motives are already known.

Upon their arrival the Swedish pilgrims took up their abode in a house near the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. The daily routine of Bridget's life remained practically the same as it had been in her cell at Alvastra, although she never lost sight of one of the main objects of her pilgrimage, viz., to bring about the return of the Pope from Avignon to Rome. Although, owing to her great modesty this task was somewhat distasteful to her, she claimed to have received a divine command to communicate God's desire to the Pope. This she did in a personal letter addressed to Clement VI., and the letter was delivered to the Pope by Alphonso de Vadaterra, Bishop of Jaen, one of Bridget's personal friends. It seems that the Pope, who was well acquainted with the virtues and reputation of the Swedish Princess,[5] was doing all in his power to bring about such an improvement in the state of affairs at Rome as to make it possible for himself to return to that city. The factional warfare between the Colonna and Orsini and other great Roman families and their partisans was but slightly checked by the patriotic efforts of the renowned Cola di Rienzi, "the last of the Roman tribunes" whose history and deeds have become better known through the famous novel of Bulwer Lytton. Rienzi, whose real baptismal name was Cola Gabrini di Rienzi, belonged to the plebeian strata of Roman society, his father having been an innkeeper. Having been able to devote some time to studies and the acquirement of knowledge, he was appointed by the Pope Apostolic Notary on the occasion of an embassy sent by some of the most prominent citizens of Rome to entreat the Pontiff to return to the Eternal City. Rienzi addressed the Pope with great eloquence, drawing with all the force of his knowledge and conviction a true and terrible picture of the cruelty and injustice of the Roman barons and of the great confusion, vice and disorder prevalent among all classes of society. This event took place in the beginning of 1343. At this time Rienzi's ambition, inflamed by a

[5] Bridget was usually referred to under this title during her sojourn abroad, and by some of her biographers. The title was not quite correct, however, as she was not a member of the reigning house, but only of one of its branches.

private grievance, said to have been the murder of his brother by a faction of the nobles, so vividly described by Lytton in the first chapter of his novel, had led him to assume the rôle of a political reformer and social liberator. At about Whitsuntide, 1347, Rienzi was all-powerful in Rome, where he intended to establish a republican constitution after the pattern of the early Roman Republic. As by this time the majority of the Roman nobility had returned to their country seats for the summer, Rienzi deemed the time opportune to strike a decisive blow for the liberty of the Roman people. He issued a proclamation summoning the people to the Capitol, where he read to them the articles of a new constitution drawn up by him, having for object the restoration of peace and order, which was received with unanimous applause and enthusiasm. The people hailed him as their tribune, a title and office which he consented to share with Raymond of Orvieto, the Papal vicar. The new constitution having received the Papal sanction, the nobles did not as yet dare to interfere. The situation in Rome was changed with the suddenness of magic, the laws were again enforced, public safety respected, the churches restored and public depots established for the free distribution of grain among the poor. The story of this meteoric rise of Rienzi in popular favor and his equally sudden fall, occasioned by his offending the Pope through his attempt to elect a Holy Roman Emperor by direct popular suffrage, has furnished a fruitful theme for works of truth and fiction. He had almost succeeded in introducing order and safety into the city when his quickly acquired prominence brought about an attack of megalomania, which resulted in his fall, on December 15, 1347. Former conditions at once returned, and in an aggravated form, as the patricians now felt called upon to revenge themselves on the mob for its presumptions. To add to the general perplexity there occurred in Italy in 1348 a series of violent earthquakes, the effect of which was powerful at Rome; the Church of the Twelve Apostles as well as a gable of the Church of St. John Lateran were demolished, not to mention many other disasters of a similar kind.

Before leaving the subject of Rienzi, a few particulars concerning the ascendancy and fall of this remarkable man may be found interesting. About the middle of the fourteenth century the eyes of the world had become opened to the glories of the creations and culture of the ancients and their deep significance in relation to the progress of human civilization. A reunion of mediæval and antique culture and civilization seemed to take place, and with the conditions a new result was being effected. The spirit of the Middle Ages had already been in a state of slow development for

centuries, and it was this new culture, created by itself and largely nourished by its own resources, that at this time discovered the marvels of antiquity and found in them a new and worthy ideal. This movement has been called the Italian renaissance, as it commenced in Italy at this period and was followed later by the rest of Europe. Rienzi, a man of great although highstrung genius, greatly gifted by nature, an Italian by birth and instilled with the loftiest patriotism, devoted an enthusiastic attention and earnest study to the numberless relics of ancient culture then, perhaps more than now, to be found in Rome. Being also endowed with a magnificent eloquence, this fact together with the personal magnetism he exercised on all those who knew him contributed to make him an ideal hero of the masses, albeit he descended to the tactics of a demagogue when confronted with disaster. He assumed the title and power of a tribune and bombastically styled himself *"Nicholaus, severus et clemens, liberatais, pacis justiciaeque tribunus, et sacre Romane Reipublice liberator,"* and there is little doubt that Rienzi might have accomplished his purpose of delivering Rome from the tyranny of the nobles had not his sudden elevation turned his head. He was a personal friend of the great Petrarch, who on several occasions encouraged him and urged him on in his difficult and dangerous task.

But to return to St. Bridget of Sweden. She was now at liberty to pursue her favorite occupation, that of worshipping at the various churches and holy places that abounded in Rome, one of her most favorite shrines being the magnificent Church of St. Paul on the road to Ostia, which was afterwards burnt down as late as 1823. It appears that in this church there was a crucifix before which she often prayed. Once the figure of the Saviour on the cross is said to have become animate and to have spoken to her, promising a great reward to all who would recite fifteen prayers in honor of His passion, as it had been revealed to her at Alvastra. The Lord also told her from the crucifix to add one "Pater noster" and one "Ave Maria" to each of the fifteen prayers, and that by doing so for a whole year she would honor each of His sacred wounds, the number of which, according to this revelation, is 5,475. Up to within comparatively recent times the people of Rome venerated this crucifix as the one which "spoke to St. Bridget."

At this time in her career the saint, at the suggestion of her confessor, is said to have commenced the study of Latin, the grammar of which she appears to have found rather dry and difficult. She was in the habit of complaining that it kept her away from her religious duties, but she soon obtained sufficient knowledge of the language to express herself freely in it.

The following account of Bridget's daily life in Rome at this time is said to be authentic and therefore of great interest. She devoted herself almost entirely to pious exercises, confining herself to her private chapel or wandering about, visiting the many churches and shrines of the city, and also gave part of her time to works of charity. We know how her own time and that of her retinue was arranged during the stay in Rome (see *"Revelationes,"* IV., p. 117). Four hours were allotted to sleep before midnight and as many hours after midnight (this would seem to be an ample allowance according to modern ideas). Whoever cut short the hours allowed for a night's sleep was entitled to a special increase in salary or other privileges. It is quite certam that Bridget habitually curtailed her own sleeping hours, and the day's work seems to have commenced at 4 o'clock in the morning. From 4 until 8 o'clock A. M. Bridget and her people were engaged in reading the canonical hours, i. e., the prayers fixed for the morning exercises, and devoted themselves to pious deeds, habits and useful "manners," so that no hour would be wasted in a useless or unprofitable way. The interval between 8 and 10 A. M. was occupied in partaking of the morning meal (this would also seem quite a liberal time allowance even judged by modern standards). A reduction of this time, however, would be graceful and acceptable to God. From 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. the time was devoted to legitimate, menial or necessary work, or such matters as were necessary and required for their daily needs. From 4 to 6 P. M. there were vespers, night service and other religious observances. The two hours from 6 to 8 P. M. were allotted to the evening repast as well as refreshment, recreation and the "permissible solace and relaxation of the body." At 8 o'clock everything pertaining to the daily duties was dismissed, night commencing at that hour. In the morning from 4 to 8 o'clock strict silence was observed; if words had to be spoken, they were to be short and succinct, and brief answers were to be made to necessary questions. As Bridget had priests and monks in her company, it was not necessary for her to attend public worship in the churches, but her devotions and those of her suite could be performed in their apartments.

At this period, or about A. D. 1348, the whole of Europe was afflicted with a terrible calamity, a plague which is known in history as the "Black Death." It was probably identical with the bubonic or pneumonic plague at present raging in the East, but at that period much more fatal in its ravages than at the present time, when medical science and sanitation have accomplished so much towards lessening its horrors. Indeed, we are told that almost all those seized with the malady were doomed to certain death within

two or three days from the first attack. Like the present plague in the East, that of 1348 is said to have originated in China or Tartary, whence it spread westward along the various caravan routes, reaching Constantinople by way of the northern coast of the Black Sea, and thence to the seaports of Italy and finally Rome. From Germany and France it spread to England, and from the latter country across the North Sea to Scandinavia, where its ravages were such as to depopulate entire parishes. Fully one hundred years later the ruins of deserted churches and chapels were accidentally discovered in the depths of the forests, indicating the former existence of populous and flourishing districts. Three years after the appearance of the plague it reached Northern Russia, where it gradually diminished in virulence and finally disappeared. It is estimated that about thirteen million people had perished in China from the scourge and twenty-four millions in the rest of the Orient, while in Europe it is said to have destroyed, according to a moderate estimate, over twenty-five million human lives. Even the sea was not exempted from this awful visitation, and history records instances of ships having been found adrift with their crews killed by the pestilence, piled up in putrefying heaps on the decks and carrying the curse of infection to the places where they landed. It was natural that such a universal calamity should have caused an almost entire paralysis of human energy and morality, as it tended to dissolve all human social and family relations. An overwhelming consciousness of sin appears to have overcome many in that superstitious age, and the religious confraternity of the "Flagellantes" is said if not to have originated, at least to have become most conspicuous at this period. They undertook to expiate the sins of the people and to avert the divine wrath by practicing bodily torture and the chanting of prayers and litanies. Bulwer Lytton quotes one of these in his "Rienzi":

> "By the Mother and the Son,
> Death endured and glory won,
> Save us, sinners though we be,
> Miserere Domine!"

Processions of these people are said to have marched from city to city robed in sombre vestments marked with red crosses on the breast, back and cap, the latter covering their entire faces with the exception of the eyes. They habitually walked with their faces turned downwards, carrying triple scourages provided with iron points with which, at stated intervals they lacerated their bodies.[6]

It is also a historical fact that at this period the unfortunate

[6] See Sir Conan Doyle, "The White Company."

Jews were subjected to a widespread persecution based on the prevailing belief, fanned by religious and racial prejudice, that they had caused the plague by poisoning the public wells. To add to the terror of the times, the people in some place rose *en masse* to exterminate the entire Hebrew race, and in the German city of Mainz alone no less than 12,000 individuals of this suffering race were put to a horrible death by fire, sword and drowning. Indeed, many of them seem to have preferred self-destruction to the tortures inflicted upon them by the fanatical and ignorant masses.

Bridget is said to have referred to this pestilence in her writings by the expression "the plague which overwhelmed the kingdom," and the remedy she proposed consisted in establishing rules of moral conduct, the abolishment of earthly vanity in the shape of extravagant clothes, the free giving of alms to the needy, and finally she advised all parish priests to celebrate Mass once a month in honor of the holy trinity, in order to avert the wrath of God. The advice offered by Bridget must have been rather ineffectual, and it appears that she escaped from Sweden just before the plague reached that country, and that when she arrived in Italy the pestilence had already spent most of its fury. At Avignon, where Pope Clement VI. remained during this awful visitation and gave great material assistance in alleviating the sufferings of the people, 120,000 persons are said to have perished from this cause, nearly double the number of the present day inhabitants of that city.

At Rome Bridget, assisted by her companions, devoted herself with untiring energy and charity to the relief of her suffering fellow-men, and it appears that none of her immediate company was ever attacked by the plague. Some characteristic anecdotes are related in connection with this trying period of the life of St. Bridget. A male scion of the great Roman family Orsini had been dangerously ill for some days, presumably from the prevailing disease, and was finally given up for lost by the physicians. The mother of the child, who was expecting its death at every minute, suddenly bethought herself of Bridget's alleged powers and exclaimed, "If only the Lady Bridget were here! Her touch would cure my son." A few minutes later, as if in response, Bridget herself unexpectedly entered the room, spoke a few words of comfort to the mother and finally requested to be left alone with the sick child. Bridget is said to have prayed earnestly at the bedside and to have ministered tenderly to the sick child. Finally she recalled the mother and told her that the child, upon awakening, would be cured. The event is said to have justified Bridget's prediction.

A certain woman who had led a life of dissipation and shame

had finally repented and expressed her desire to reform. According to tradition, she was so badly tempted by the devil that she was about to relapse into her old life, feeling powerless to resist the evil impulses which beset her. One day she met Bridget and confiding to her her tale of woe, asked for the saint's intercession. In the presence of several credible witnesses Bridget then walked up to the woman and in a loud and commanding voice exclaimed, "Depart, Satan; thou hast tormented this creature of God long enough!" The woman immediately recovered from her "devil-possession," and shortly afterwards, it is said, she "died a good death." A more enlightened age would probably have ascribed this and several similar incidents to so-called hypnotization or auto-suggestion, but a truthful account of Bridget's life would be incomplete did it not refer to any of the so-called "miracles" wrought by this saint, which perhaps earned for her the greater part of her contemporary fame. As a consequence of many real or supposed miracles of this nature, Bridget's reptuation rose to a great height not only in Rome and Italy, but throughout Europe her name was on every tongue, and she was everywhere loved as a great and disinterested philanthropist and benefactress of the poor and distressed. However, she never allowed her fame to increase her self-esteem, but, on the contrary, she seems to have become even more humble and self-denying as the years passed by. She even went to the length of voluntarily parting with a considerable share of her fortune and joined the poor as a mendicant in the cause of religion and charity. Thus she literally followed the Saviour's advice, "Give away thy goods, and come and follow Me." She was also in the habit of lodging and feeding in her house poor and needy pilgrims from all parts of Europe, although, of course, she paid special attention to the needs of her own countrymen.

At this time Bridget had become the centre of spiritual life in Rome, and her influence extended to all classes and members of society. The poor loved her as a benefactress and personal friend, while the rich and noble considered it an honor to associate with a princess so closely related to the royal family of Sweden. At this time and particularly after the abatement of the great plague Rome was annually visited by an enormous number of pilgrims, who came partly to expiate their own sins and partly as a measure of thanksgiving to God for permitting them to escape as a measure The Papal Legate, the Cardinal da Ceccano, exerted himself to the utmost in taking measures for the safety and comfort of the pilgrims and providing them with the necessaries of life, which could have been no small task in those days. Fearing a scarcity of food if the foreign influx became much greater, he decided to curtail the

time fixed for gaining the indulgences incident to a Papal jubilee year. This measure, however, aroused the ill-will of many selfish and mercenary people in Rome, as it tended to shorten the stay of the pilgrims in the Eternal City and diminish the profit to themselves. Finally, when the discontent of the Romans had grown to alarming proportions, Ceccano reproved the people in a spirited sermon for their selfishness and violence, which had made it impossible for the Pope to return to the Eternal City. Becoming more inflamed, the mob made an attack on the Cardinal's palace; some of his household were wounded and even his own life was attempted. At this juncture Bridget openly espoused the Cardinal's cause and raised her voice in reprobation of the people who thus had allowed themselves to desecrate the jubilee year then being celebrated in Rome. In a fervent appeal to the Papal vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, she implored him to take rapid and vigorous action and punish the Cardinal's assailants without delay. The Papal vicar, however, resented her interference and persuaded himself and others that Bridget's revelations were merely the phantastic visions of a fanatical and excitable woman. The popular fury increased daily, and the only result of Bridget's advice was to turn the popular rage from the Cardinal to herself. She suddenly became the object of a most violent popular resentment and was insulted and slandered everywhere; finally she was accused of being a witch and the terrible cry was raised: "Burn the heretic!" With her accustomed composure, Bridget at once implored divine assistance, and in reply she received a direct command from God to remain in Rome and weather the popular storm, being told that no harm would befall her. At the same time she was consoled by a vision of the Virgin Mary, who enjoined her and her companions to sing the hymn "Ave Maris Stella" ("Hail Star of the Sea") in her honor every evening, a practice which is still continued by the members of the Briggittine order. Shortly afterward, however, the tide of popular resentment turned and the love and veneration of the fickle Romans for the saintly Swedish woman became stronger than ever before. At this juncture, undoubtedly inspired by a divine suggestion, she suddenly decided to repair to Castel Nuovo, a dependency of the great Abbey of Farfa, considered third in rank of the great Italian monasteries, the two others being Nonantula and Monte Cassino. This great Benedictine abbey had undergone many vicissitudes of fortune during its long existence, and a deplorable moral degeneration had been caused by the great prosperity and enormous revenues which it enjoyed. Such was the state of affairs at the time of Bridget's visit, and with the zeal and promptitude so characteristic of her she determined, if pos-

sible, to institute reforms. During Bridget's stay at Farfa she must have reflected on the life of the pious and austere Benedict of Nursia, the founder of monasticism in Italy and the Occident. The mental parallel which she drew between the latter and abbot then in charge could not have resulted in favor of the latter. The abbot very seldom celebrated Holy Mass; he did not wear the dress prescribed for the Benedictines, and to use Bridget's own words, "his heart, in which God should dwell, belonged to a wanton woman; he did not consider his own property sufficient, but was covetous of that of others; he had promised to practice self-denial, yet consulted his own pleasure and comfort in everything." She addressed the following remonstration to him: "Thou, reverend abbot, who shouldst be a model for the other monks, art a worshipper of courtesans, as witness thy sons, for the sake of whom thou art in ill repute. Thou shouldst be an example for the poor and take care of the needy, but thou showest thyself as a great man, thanks to the alms that thou hast received. Thou livest rather in palaces than in a monastery. Thou shouldst be a teacher and as a *mother* to thy brethren, but thou hast become a church warden and a stepmother. Thou amusest thyself in pleasures and magnificence, but they repine in sorrow and affliction all day long. Therefore, if thou dost not return to the paths of rectitude, God shall drive thee out of the palace, thou shalt not commune even with the least of thy brethren, but thou shalt not, as thou believest, return to thy native land (France), nor enter the kingdom of God." It is reported that the abbot did not need Bridget's warning, but was deposed from his office and died a miserable death without benefit of clergy. The abbey, however, is said to have undergone a thorough reform and house cleaning as a result of Bridget's visit.

While at Farfa Bridget experienced a great happiness: her daughter Catherine located her there and paid her a visit. It seems that the desire of seeing her mother again and of being present at the jubilee celebrations had decided Catherine to undertake the long journey to Rome. She appears to have been of a very impulsive nature, and this desire must have become so overwhelming that she could neither eat nor sleep. Finally her husband gave a reluctant consent to the pilgrimage and, accompanied by two ladies and a male relative, the Chevalier or Knight Gustavus Tunesson, of the famous Syure family, and servants, Catherine set sail across the Baltic to Germany, and in due course arrived in Rome. In the extreme heat of a Roman summer and agitated by the greatest anxiety, she wandered with her escort during eight days through the streets of Rome and visited its holy places, but nowhere was her mother to be found, nor was there any indication of her where-

abouts. Their joy and happiness can therefore easily be imagined when one day they met Bridget's father confessor, Peter Olafsson, at a service in St. Peter's. It appears that during his stay at Farfa Peter had experienced a mysterious foreboding which prompted him to go to Rome, where he found Catherine and relieved her distress.

Some historians assert that when Catherine arrived in Rome her mother Bridget was in Bologna, while others maintain that the latter was still in Farfa, where she was visited by Catherine. However this may be, it seems that after leaving Farfa, Bridget proceeded to Bologna, in order to visit the great Dominican monastery in that city. The latter she found in almost as unsatisfactory a condition as that of Farfa, although here she was received with hospitality and courtesy by the prior, who had heard of her fame and been forewarned of her arrival. This fact naturally made her task the more difficult, as efforts were made to conceal from her the true state of affairs. At last she intimated to the prior that deception and concealment were all in vain, as she was well aware of the condition of things at the monastery; the prior at once took alarm, having heard of the fate of the others, and became very repentant, outwardly at least. Falling on his knees before Bridget, he offered to resign the office which he had maladministered and to take his place as a simple monk in the ranks of his brethren, but Bridget refused to sanction this step. On the contrary, she quieted his fears by telling him to go to work earnestly and endeavor to effect reforms. Historical records show that the prior, at least partially, succeeded in this task.

Mother and daughter now returned to Rome and it was decided that, Catherine's young husband having just died in Sweden, she should remain in Rome with her mother and that, having foresworn the world, she should become her mother's companion and associate in her pious and charitable activity. At Rome they took up their lodgings in a house owned by Cardinal Hugo Roger, brother of Pope Clement VI., Bridget having removed from the house near the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, at the Campo dei Fiori, where she had resided during the first four years of her stay in Rome.

We are told that at times Bridget and her daughter found themselves in reduced financial circumstances due in a measure to their own reckless charitable donations, their lavish hospitality and the irregularity of the remittances sent them from their own country. This circumstance is easily explained in view of the extraordinary conditions in Rome at this period.

After the death of Pope Clement VI. in December, 1352, In-

nocent VI. was elected as his successor, but with this Pope Bridget was not personally acquainted. She knew, however, that he was firmly resolved to bring about the return of the Pontiffs from Avignon to Rome. The condition of the *Patrimonium Petri* was most unsatisfactory to the Church, and the temporal authority of the Pope had become a mere shadow of its former self in many of the districts. A resort to arms was therefore deemed inevitable, and this undertaking was intrusted to the famous Spanish Cardinal Egidius Albornoz. Bulwer Lytton in his famous novel refers to this prelate as proudly styling himself "Prince of Aragon, Cardinal of Spain." The Pope delegated his authority in Italy to Albornoz, with the exception of Naples and Sicily. Within the short space of four months Albornoz restored the Duchy of Spoleto and the whole of the patrimony to the Church by prudent diplomacy as well as good generalship.

Quite characteristic of prevailing conditions at Rome were the precautions taken to protect Bridget's young daughter Catherine, who was only eighteen years old, on her arrival in Italy, and said to have been very beautiful. While the mother, accompanied by her confessor, made the daily rounds of the various churches to perform her devotions, Catherine was generally obliged to stay at home, in order to avoid dangerous attention. It even happened when she went out in company with others that she was exposed to insult or danger from undesirable suitors, as is shown by the following incident. One day Catherine, in company with some Roman ladies, went to the Church of St. Sebastian outside the Walls in order to attend Mass, their way leading through a vineyard, when it was noticed that one of Catherine's rejected admirers was lying in ambush for her. All of a sudden, however, a frightened stag or deer rushed past the company and the man gave chase, while the party of ladies effected their escape. Catherine encountered many other adventures of a similar nature, but managed to escape them all unscathed.

A very large part of Bridget's work in Italy consisted of attempts to reform the clergy, and in this respect she was a true forerunner of the reformers. In this fact her real greatness is to be found and that which most of all has entitled her to fame and the remembrance of posterity. Nevertheless, she was a very pious Catholic and did not, like the later reformers, advocate any changes in the Catholic creed or ritualistic practices. For this reason she did not lay herself open to the serious charge of heresy, which brought so many of her followers to excommunication and the stake. Unfortunately, Bridget's advice and admonitions went unheeded by the authorities of the Church, and it is quite safe to as-

sume that had the efforts of this remarkable woman and others animated by the same spirit been crowned with success, subsequent events in the history of the Church and the Christian world would have been greatly modified, and the great cataclysm which overwhelmed the Church in the sixteenth century would at least have been partially averted.

Bridget's reforms commenced in the very highest places. With unsparing severity she rebuked the moral laxity and worldly tendencies of the princes and Bishops of the Church, and history records several instances of her success in this direction. Encouraged by this success, she is said to have formulated under divine inspiration a collection of rules for the guidance of Bishops which was distributed far and wide and in many instances produced beneficial results. In doing this she insisted upon the importance of the maxim "practice what you preach," and exposed the fallacy of the recitation of high-sounding litanies and verbose prayers destitute of the living spirit of charity and true contrition for sins. In a word, she advocated a religion and a faith of the heart combined with good deeds and moral conduct and not a religion of mere empty and hollow ritual, mummery and mouth-worship.

Bridget's great reputation for sanctity and her high social position facilitated her admission into convents and other ecclesiastical establishments, which fact enabled her to observe the rule she had laid down for her own guidance, i. e., to begin her reforms at the top. She was aware that the admonitions of superiors are worse than useless unless accompanied by good example, and she therefore made it a point to become intimate with the superiors, and wherever she succeeded in this, the very best results were generally obtained. Bridget's utterances were characterized by the greatest energy and fearlessness, nor did she spare the very vicars of Christ themselves. One of these, Clement VI., who has already been mentioned, reigned at Avignon between 1342 and 1352. He was a Frenchman by birth, a man of learning and a lover of science and art; he surrounded himself with regal magnificence while the Papacy was becoming more and more subservient to the French monarchy and life at the Papal Court was distinguished by everything but virtue. Far from meditating a return to Rome, Clement instead acquired the city of Avignon by purchase. His successor, Innocent VI., also of French nationality, whose reign lasted from 1352 to 1362, did not walk in his predecessor's footsteps. Innocent was a serious-minded, austere and just man, who endeavored to cleanse the Papal Court and restore order within Italy. Toward the latter part of his life he experienced a desire to visit Rome, but this

was never carried out, owing to the feebleness of his advancing age. After Innocent's death another Frenchman was elected Pope, under the title of Urban V., and he finally came to Rome in 1367, only to again return to Avignon toward the end of the year 1370. His successor, Gregory XI., at last transferred the Papal residence to Rome. Primarily, however, it was not the needs and interests of the Church, but political reasons which prompted the visit of Urban V. and the final return of Gregory XI. We shall later return to the subject of Bridget's admonitions to Clement VI.

It appears that the companionship and assistance of her daughter Catherine were of the greatest importance to Bridget, who had now grown old, as the daughter was a living example of what the mother's teachings could accomplish under favorable conditions. Catherine is described at that time as a very beautiful girl of a dazzling clear northern complexion and blue eyes, and as forming a sharp contrast to the somber and almost shabby weeds of her mother. Catherine proved herself a powerful auxiliary to the older saint in her missions to the magnificent Roman *palazzos,* as in addition to her beauty she possessed a charming attractiveness and natural grace of manner and conversation which were much appreciated by the Roman aristocracy. Her cheerful presence was always welcome to the poor patients in the Roman hospitals, and within a short time she had formed quite a club or society of patrician disciples who emulated her charitable example.

Outside of her own immediate family circle one of Bridget's greatest friends in Rome was Alfonso, or Alphonsus de Vadaterra, Bishop of Jaen, a Spaniard by birth, who has already been mentioned. Alphonso's relatives had for many years resided in Siena, and with him Bridget became very intimate, as he seemed to be in closer sympathy with her work and herself personally than even her own countrymen and companions. After Bridget's death Alphonso became one of the most zealous champions of the truth of her revelations as well as a most trustworthy eye-witness of her virtues and miracles.

It may be well for the purposes of this account of Bridget's life to turn our attention for a moment to the events transpiring in Sweden during Bridget's absence abroad. Eric, the second son of King Magnus and Queen Blanche, as well as the Queen herself, died in 1363, and it was rumored that they had died of poison, in Eric's case administered by his own mother, and the Queen by an unknown hand at the wedding of her eldest son Haakon to Princess Margaret of Denmark. This princess afterward became known as the great Queen Margaret, surnamed the Semiramis of the North and celebrated as the founder of the Union of Calmar. That

famous historic event brought together under one monarch the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Sweden, Norway and Denmark and took place in 1397. The union continued until 1523, when Gustavus Vasa, prompted by the cruelty of the Danish King Christian II., surnamed the "Tyrant," finally established the political independence of Sweden. King Magnus himself had become an object of aversion to his subjects and, having been excommunicated by the Church, was dethroned and put into prison. His nephew, Albrecht of Mecklenburg, was now made King of Sweden. After an imprisonment of seven years, Magnus is supposed to have been drowned while crossing the sea to Norway. Bridget's brother Israel, who refused the royal dignity offered to him upon the dethronement of Magnus, had participated in one of the latter's expeditions against the infidel Finns and Russians. These crusades had been undertaken chiefly at the instigation of Bridget, who in this respect was, as in many others, merely a child of her own time. Having joined the army in Livonia during Magnus' second expedition, which was a crusade in name only, Israel died in the city of Riga in the year 1351, after Bridget had left Sweden.

At about this time (probably in the autumn of 1365) Bridget claimed to have received a divine command to proceed to the south of Italy and visit Naples. Before that, however, she had undertaken a journey to Assisi, where she visited the tomb of St. Francis, the famous founder of the order of Franciscans. Other places visited about this time, although the dates of the visits as well as their connection with the Naples journey are rather doubtful, were Amalfi, where she worshipped at the shrine of St. Andrew; Benevento, where reposed the relics of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, and Ortona on the Adriatic, where the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas had been preserved since the year 1258. She also visited Monte Gargano, rendered famous by a pretended apparition of the Archangel Michael; Manfredonia, also on the Adriatic, somewhat south of Monte Gargano; Bari, where rested the remains of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in Asia Minor, and Salerno, where the great Pope Gregory VII. (Aldobrandeschi) died in exile in 1085, because, as he said, "he had loved justice and hated iniquity." It is probable that Bridget proceeded to the south of Italy along the eastern or Adriatic coast and that Naples was her headquarters, whence she made excursions to Sorrento and Amalfi, and probably also Benevento.

In Naples peculiar conditions prevailed at this period. The country was governed by the famous Queen Joanna, a daughter of Duke Charles of Calabria. She had first been married to King Andrew of Hungary, afterward with Louis of Tarentum, and was

at this time the consort of James of Mallorca. The last named, however, was excluded from any share in the government of Joanna's kingdom. The court of Naples was a brilliant one and famed for its luxurious habits and aristocratic manners as well as its preferment of literature and art. The moral reputation of the Queen seems to have been somewhat doubtful, although at this day it is difficult to determine the exact truth in the matter. That she displayed great fondness for pleasures and enjoyments seems beyond a doubt, but this fact did not prevent her from paying the most flattering attention to Bridget, who about this period had reached the summit of her fame. Catholic biographers of St. Bridget are, as a rule, very severe in their judgment of Queen Joanna, although they acknowledge the fact that she extended every possible courtesy and attention to the saint.

While in Naples Bridget was once visited by a young man named Eleazer, who requested her assistance and advice. The following letter was written by Bridget in reply, and as it is very characteristic of the saint and of the period in which she lived, it is here reproduced with but a few changes and abbreviations: "As it is thy desire to have for thy only object obedience to the will of God and to honor Him, so far as possible, in word and deed, to devote thyself to Him with thy person, goods and all thy energies, as long as thou shalt live, in order to give thy soul into the keeping of thy Creator, and to preserve it pure and clean from all filthy desires of the flesh: thou must carefully watch the foundation, i. e., thy reason, so that nobody shall be able, to the detriment of thy soul, to undermine that foundation. By those endeavoring to undermine it I mean the persons who will say to thee: 'Sir, remain a layman, and marry a beautiful, noble and rich woman.' Perhaps others will say: 'If thou wishest to become a priest, study the fine arts (i. e., science), and become a Master (*Magister*), obtain as much as possible, by prayers or gifts, of the goods and revenues of the Church, and thou shalt become honored by the world for thy knowledge, and thou shalt be glorified by thy worldly friends and many servants for thy abundance of riches.' Should any persons try to persuade thee in such a manner, then thou must cause the watchman, i. e., thy reason, to reply that thou wouldst rather brave all the temptations of the flesh than lose thy chastity. Say furthermore that thou wouldst acquire a knowledge of science and the fine arts for the glory of God, in defense of the true faith, for the benefit of good men, in order to correct the failing and erring ones, and for the advantage of all those who need thy counsel and instruction. Thou must not covet more in this world than what is required for the support of thy body and thy neces-

sary servants, nor that which is superfluous, because a desire for the latter springs from empty vanity. Thou shalt also say that in case thou, through the mercy of God, obtainest some high and dignified station, thou shalt use it entirely for the benefit of thy neighbor and the glory of God. Thus will the watchman, the reason, drive away those that seek to undermine the foundation, or thy good will. Besides, reason must carefully see to it that nobody endeavors to surmount the high wall. By the high wall I mean love, which is higher than all the virtues. Thou must be convinced that the devil has no greater desire than to leap over that wall, for which reason he continuously uses his best efforts to overcome divine love with worldly love, the love of the flesh. Therefore, my dear sir, as often as worldly love endeavors to gain precedence in thy heart over the love of God, then immediately let the watchman reason say, in accordance with the commandment of God, that thou wouldst rather die, soul and body, than offend God, who is so good, by word or deed. Do not think about thy own life or goods or property, nor the favor of relatives or friends, but only seek to please God and honor him in evertyhing. Thou must voluntarily expose thyself to all kinds of difficulties rather than to cause harm and misery to befall any of thy relatives. I have spoken about walls. By these I understand the four felicities of the heavenly Kingdom, which man should wish for in his heart with a meditative vigilance. The first is, to fervently desire in one's own heart to behold God Himself in His eternal glory and the imperishable treasures which he who has once received them, shall never lack. The second is a desire always to hearken to the lovely voices of the angels in praising and glorifying God, without intermission. The third is the desire to praise God eternally, like the angels, out of the fulness of the heart, and with a fervent ardor. Finally, the fourth is to eagerly desire the eternal consolation of the angels and the holy and blessed souls in heaven. Just as a man who always is in a house, wherever he turns, has four walls surrounding him, so shall he also have who, night and day, of all his heart desires these four things: to behold God in His glory, to listen to the angels praising God, to love God in common with them and to participate in their consolation; in reality, wherever he turns and whatever he may be doing, he shall always remain unharmed within these four walls, nay he shall already in this life and in the society of angels, enjoy the association with God. My beloved sir, how much do not enemies wish to break through these walls, deprive the heart of such inward joy, and instead to turn thy desires in another direction, which may be very injurious to the soul. Therefore reason must carefully watch the two roads

through which the enemy usually approaches, namely, sight and hearing. Through the ears there enter into the heart the enjoyment of worldly songs, of various musical instruments,[7] of useless fiction and the praise of men. The more man, by means of the first named, rouses his own pride, the farther he becomes separated from the humble and lowly Christ. The watchman reason protests against such a pleasure by saying, 'as the devil hates all the humility which the Holy Ghost instills into the heart of men, so shall I, with the powerful help of God, detest all the pomp and worldly vanity which the evil spirit, with his destructive fire, makes alluring to the heart. This shall be unto me like the loathsome stench of a corpse!' Through the sense of sight the enemy approaches bringing with him various tools, in order to break through the walls, such as many kinds of metals made into several different shapes and forms such as precious stones, gorgeous clothes, palaces, castles, real property, lakes, forests, vineyards and a great many other things which afford great revenues and prosperity. Therefore the watchman reason must, before such things penetrate into the heart, arm himself for defense and say, 'if any such goods come into my possession I shall preserve them in a place where neither thieves nor moths need be feared, with the help of God I shall not offend my Lord by coveting the goods of others, nor segregate myself from the society of those who serve Christ.' By the doors of this house I mean everything which is necessary for the body, such as food, drink, sleep, vigil, occasional grief, and occasional happiness. The watchman reason must therefore carefully guard these doors. In the consumption of food and drink great care must be taken that the foe does not lead to excess and luxuriousness, which render the body useless for the service of God. One must also be carefully on guard against the insinuation of the foe in the shape of an excess of abstemiousness, which renders the body incapacitated for all manner of actions. The watchman must also see to it that thou dost not become guilty of luxury for the sake of worldly honor and the favor of men, whether thou be all alone with thine own or in the presence of strangers, and for the love of God, treat every one with sufficient hospitality, avoiding, at the same time, too many and dainty dishes. The watchman should also carefully direct moderation as regards sleep, even as thou shalt be moderate with respect to food and drink, in order that the body may be comfortable and alert for the honor of God, and in such a condition as to be fit for the vigilant service of God and all honorable work. Should any sorrow or bitterness befall thee, then the watchman

[7] No sacred or organ music was ever allowed at the services in the Brigittine convents.

reason, accompanied by his friend piety, should hasten to aid so that thou mayest not be dangerously induced to forsake the grace of God, through wrath or impatience, and thereby arouse God's anger against thee. And further, should thy heart be filled with joy and happiness, let the watchman so much the more earnestly enjoin thee, through the grace of Jesus Christ, to observe moderation in thy comfort and contentment."

It will be seen that this letter of Bridget's is not without a certain blunt literary merit and tends to prove the assertion that her influence on mediæval Swedish language and literature was of great importance. Young Eleazer remained a most devoted friend of the Swedish princess, took holy orders and was at the time of his death a Cardinal of the Church.

Bridget's journey to Naples and her stay in that city were of some duration and it is important to fix its date so far as possible. Hammerich believes it was commenced in 1369 or 1370, alleging as evidence a Papal passport for Bridget and her children dated November 13, 1369, wherein besides Karl, Birger and Catherine, Bishop Thomas of Weixio (Växjö) was also mentioned. On his return to Sweden Bishop Thomas found King Magnus in prison and the kingdom in great confusion. In addition to this it appears that Catherine, in her testimony given in connection with the investigation of Bridget's claims to beatification, mentions the year 1370 as the date of her mother's first visit to Naples. There exists at least an intimation that this date was not the one originally given.[8] There is no original statement or tradition to the effect that the sons accompanied the saint during her first visit to the Neapolitan kingdom. The passport mentioned refers, without a doubt, to the second journey to Naples, which was continued to the Holy Land. That Bishop Thomas participated in the first journey is also quite certain. He went to Rome on a short visit, but was persuaded to remain somewhat longer than he had intended. Bridget was in Rome in the month of July, 1365, and Bishop Thomas visited the town of Abo, in Finland, at midsummer of the same year and is not mentioned after that time in any Swedish original manuscript until the end of August, 1366. In the meantime he could have had sufficient time to visit Italy. On the whole, it seems most probable that Bridget commenced her first journey to Naples in the fall of 1365. In part 2, p. 196, of the Roman edition of her "*Revelationes*" (1628), it is said that she received a summons to proceed to Jerusalem in May, 1371, at which time she had lived in Rome for many years after the return from the first pilgrimage to the Neapolitan Kingdom. If Bishop Thomas had re-

[8] See Comtesse de Flavigny, "Sainte Brigitte de Suede," p. 334.

turned to Sweden at a time when the King was in prison and the kingdom in great confusion, it would be quite inconsistent with a return in the fall of 1366, and hence the first expedition to Naples must have been undertaken before the return of Pope Urban V. from Avignon to Rome.

The last mentioned event is of great importance for the history of the period. Urban V. left Avignon April 30, 1367, and set out for Italy. The cities of Naples, Venice, Genoa and Pisa sent fleets to Marseilles to transport and accompany the Pope, constituting a squadron of twenty-five galleys. He landed at Genoa, Pisa and Corneto and paid a visit to Viterbo, where Cardinal Albornoz, who was on his deathbed, expired before the departure of the Pope. The latter was received everywhere with great homage and jubilation. On October 16, 1367, Urban made his solemn entry into Rome. First in the Papal procession, at the head of a thousand horsemen, rode Nicolo d'Este, Count of Ferrara, followed by the entire College of Cardinals and the Pope in person, the bridle of the Pontiff's horse being held by the Duke of Savoy. Then followed the ecclesiastical banner floating high over the head of the Pope, carried by Rodolfo di Camerino. The number of priests and members of religious orders alone in the procession was estimated at two thousand. The Pope at once proceeded to the Basilica of St. Peter's and, having mounted his throne, distributed indulgences to all present. On the 18th of October he took possession of the Church of St. John Lateran, and on the 30th the Pontiff officiated at High Mass in St. Peter's, for the first time since the reign of Boniface VIII.

Although Bridget is not mentioned in any of the manuscripts describing the Papal entry into Rome, her enthusiasm over the glorious period which now seemed to dawn for the Church may be easily imagined. Her hopes and expectations were, however, doomed to disappointment, although at this time she could not have entertained any serious forebodings. It is quite certain that she witnessed the triumphal procession, as she was in Rome at the time, and some of her many aristocratic friends must have afforded her an opportunity of beholding the inspiriting spectacle. Although the political authority of the Pope was no longer the same as of old, yet some of the ancient glamour must have returned at this time. Urban was personally visited by Queen Joanna of Naples, the King of Cyprus and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. On the 21st of October the Pope and Emperor made their joint entry into Rome, the Pope riding on horseback and the Emperor and the Count of Savoy walking at his side and holding the bridle of his horse. During the Solemn Mass at St. Peter's the Emperor

officiated as deacon, and in the course of the following year Urban was visited by the Byzantine Emperor.

As early as 1353 Bridget is reported to have received a divine command to stay in Rome until she should be allowed to behold the Pope and the Emperor in the Eternal City, to both of whom she was to convey the commandment of God. It will be admitted that Bridget was not deficient in courage or initiative, a feature of her character which would have done honor to the most independent and liberty-loving American of our day. She visited Urban V. at Montefiascone, where the Pope had retired in order to escape the intense heat of a Roman summer. She was presented to him by her friend, Nicolas Orsini, Count of Nola, who according to his own statement had to serve as interpreter, Bridget not being well versed in grammar and not understanding French, the Pope's native tongue. She proceeded to tell him of the many years she had awaited his return to Rome, not only with a view to the welfare of the Church, but also for a particularly cherished object, that of securing the Papal sanction for her new order. Urban received Bridget with special marks of esteem and attention, but the sanction could not be granted immediately. On behalf of the Saviour she made the following statement to the Pope: "Thy time is short and thou must take care to save the souls which have been confided to thy care. I am giving thee this rule of a new order which I have personally dictated and which shall be inaugurated and maintained at the Convent of Vadstena, in Sweden. As thou art my vicar on earth, it is my desire that thou shalt confirm and strengthen this order with thy blessing. I have endowed this convent with a spiritual gift, bestowing on it all the indulgences to be obtained at the Church of St. Peter's in Vincoli, at Rome. Confirm, therefore, before men on earth that which has been sanctioned and decided upon for all of my Heavenly Host. The fact that thy soul received spiritual consolation when thou for the first time obeyed my command may be a token to thee of the truth of my words." The Emperor was next requested to bestow his sanction on the order and at last, on August 5, 1370, a Papal bull was issued in which the Archbishop of Upsala and the Bishops of Strängnäs and Växjö were commanded to assist in the constitution and arrangement of Bridget's new establishment. The latter should submit to the general rule of St. Augustine, with certain minor changes and additions, but Urban reserved to himself a more detailed scrutiny and consideration of the new rule.

Bridget's anxiety to secure the Papal sanction was intensified by the fact that rumors were commencing to circulate to the effect that Urban had the intention of again abandoning Rome. These

rumors were subsequently verified, and on the 22d of May, 1370, Urban was visited at Montefiascone by emissaries from Rome who earnestly entreated him to return to the capital. In reply to this the Pope said that the Holy Ghost had brought him to Italy, but that the same Spirit now required his presence elsewhere for the glory of the Church, and that if he were not bodily with the Romans, he would always be with them in the spirit.

Bridget, thoroughly alarmed lest her entire mission should fail, decided to send an admonition to Urban through some emissaries. Nobody, however, could be found plucky enough to undertake this dangerous task, and therefore Bridget resolved to attend to the matter in person. Her message, which was a sharp one, read somewhat as follows: "Urban, who was tired and disgusted with the labor in God's service, preferred his physical comfort; his native country, France, was too dear to him, his earthly friends allured him, and the latter countenanced his predilections and wishes more than the honor and will of God or the benefit of his own soul. Should he return to the country in which he had been elected Pope, he would soon be so badly stricken as to make him grind his teeth, his sight would be dimmed, all his limbs would be trembling, the flame of the Holy Ghost would gradually become extinguished within him, all the prayers of God's friends in his behalf would be without avail, the love of his people for him would become null and he would be called to account before God for two things—first, for what he had accomplished during the time that he had occupied the chair of St. Peter, and, second, for what he had omitted to do of all that which he in his great office had been enabled to perform for the glory of God." Little wonder that Bridget met with difficulties in finding persons willing to convey such a message to the visible head of the Christian Church. Her own courage in personally admonishing the Pope is certainly to be admired, and we may indeed wonder in what manner Urban could have received such a severe and threatening message.

The warning was, however, without effect. On the 7th of September, 1370, Urban V. boarded a ship at Corneto and arrived in Marseilles on the 16th of the same month. On the 19th of December following he died. It should be borne in mind that these events are emphatically stated in the *"Revelationes"* as written down by herself in the order of their occurrence, and that all of the others are details of historically proved authenticity. As Urban's successor was elected Pierre Roger de Beaufort, who assumed the name of Gregory XI. and who had been present at the time of Bridget's severe address to Urban V. In 1377 Gregory XI. finally returned to Rome, but Bridget was then dead and Gregory him-

self died the following year, 1378, from which time dates the commencement of the great schism of the West.

Bridget also visited Gregory XI. repeatedly and delivered to him one written exhortation and solicitation after the other. Time and space prevent a detailed description of these, although most of them are still in existence. It may be added, however, that Bridget was not alone in her desire that the Pope should return to Rome; the great poet Petrarch and St. Catherine of Siena were of the same opinion and animated by the same hope. Before leaving the subject of Bridget's addresses to the Popes, it should be mentioned that she had already approached Clement VI. and Innocent VI. with very sharp demands for needed reforms in the Church, in which she fearlessly describes the corruption and immorality of the clergy and the moral condition of the period. Her language is that of the most impassioned reformer; she did not scruple to call things by their proper names, spared nobody and wielded a merciless and unrelenting lash on the vice and degeneration into which the Church apparently had sunk.

As a proof of the fact that Bridget had no intention of returning to her native country may be cited the visit paid to her by her two sons, Birger and Karl, both of whom were interested in the politics of the Scandinavian Kingdoms. In Swedish original manuscripts there is no mention of Karl's presence subsequent to February 25, 1369. The approximate date of their arrival in Italy is established by the fact that they were presented by their mother to Pope Urban V., who returned to France on April 17, 1370, and their arrival in Italy must therefore probably have taken place toward the latter part of 1369 or the early part of 1370. The tradition of their meeting with the Pope and documents relating to that event were carefully preserved in the convent at Vadstena. According to an ancient custom, Birger appeared dressed in long clothes, which was at this period of transition from ancient to modern customs still considered as the best and most correct form, and wore a girdle; in short, he was clad "in the most becoming manner." Karl, on the contrary, was attired in the costume of a knight, together with a silver belt, collar and other ornaments and a tunic of ermine. Attached to this tunic there were a number of animal skins, which must at least have been partially stuffed as they were said to have looked very life-like; they were arranged in double rows, one above and the other below the belt, every other animal having its head turned upward and the other downward, and each had a gold ring in its mouth and a jungle at the neck. For a few moments the Pope scrutinized the two brothers and then said to Birger: "Thou art thy mother's son;" and then to

Karl: "Thou art a son of the world." The mother fell on her knees before the Pontiff, imploring the remission of their sins, whereupon the Pope, lifting the heavy belt which Karl wore, replied: "It must be sufficient penance for him to wear this great weight." Bridget at once retorted: "Holy Father, just take away his sins. I will take good care to relieve him of the belt."

In a petition to Pope Urban Bridget requested his sanction for a new devotion termed the Brigittine Rosary, and in its confirmation by him and later Popes many indulgences and favors were conferred upon it. This rosary consisted of ten decades, each ending with a "Credo" instead of the usual "Gloria," and the whole concluding with three Ave Marias, to represent the number of sixty-three years, which is generally believed to have been the age of the Virgin Mary at her death. Bridget subsequently addressed a petition in writing to the Emperor Charles IV. in order to secure his sanction of the new order, which was considered necessary, and this petition she forwarded early in 1368 to the Emperor, who was then in the city of Prague, Bohemia. In the month of October of the same year Urban again visited Viterbo to receive the Emperor, who as already stated, accompanied the Pope to Rome, where the former gave an audience to Bridget and received her with distinguished attention. After a space of twenty years Bridget had thus accomplished her mission and beheld the fulfilment of the Virgin's promise that she should live to see both the Pope and Emperor at Rome and be allowed to address them personally. Bridget had been none too prompt in obtaining the Papal and Imperial sanction for her new order. The conditions in Rome were far from improving; the Church had taken a false step in the creation of six French Cardinals, and Urban, who had for some time been discouraged and disgusted with the feuds and disorders of Rome, announced, in the spring of 1370, his intention of returning to the city of Avignon. In the meantime war had again broken out between France and England, adding to the disquiet and turmoil of the times. In the town of Montefiascone, while on his return journey to Avignon, Urban issued the bull which granted the confirmation of the Brigittine order. It authorized her to found monasteries and convents for both men and women on the plan outlined by her, and confirmed at the same time the now completed cloister at Vadstena. Until sufficient time could be had to examine closely into the details and merits of the new order, its convents were to be governed provisionally by the Augustinian rule. The official title of the order was *Ordo Sancti Salvatoris,* or *Sanctissimi Redemptoris,* but it was popularly called the Order of St. Bridget or the Brigittine Order. The Bollandists, however, are

authority for the opinion that Urban V. confirmed the Brigittine rule also, but Bishop Gonsalvo Durante in his preface to the rule maintains that Urban VI. was the Pontiff who formally confirmed it. It appears that both Urban V. and Gregory XI. examined the rule, but they died before it could be confirmed. The wording of the bull of canonization also supports this view. Within a comparatively short time the new order was recognized throughout the greater part of Christian Europe and had representatives in Portugal, Italy, Poland, Finland, Esthonia, England and Norway. At the present day six Brigittine convents are in existence, exclusive of the Spanish congregations founded by Maria de Eschobar—namely, one in Bavaria, at Altomünster, two at Weert and Uden, in Holland, two in Mexico and one at Chudleigh, in England. In one of these there still exists a souvenir card printed with figures of St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine. On the reverse of St. Bridget's card is the following legend:

"Rosa, rorans bonitatem,
Stella, stillans claritatem,
Birgitta, vas gratiae,
Rora coeli pietatem,
Stilla vitae puritatem
in vallem miseriae.

℣. *Ora pro nobis, beata mater Birgitta, sponsa Christi predilecta,*
℟. *Ut ad coelestem patriam sit ipsa nobis via recta."*

Only second in importance to the original mother convent at Vadstena was the celebrated Briggittine monastery of Syon House at Isleworth, in England, which was during the fifteenth century like its prototype at Vadstena an ecclesiastical centre of great importance and influence. As a measure of thanksgiving for his celebrated victory over the French at Agincourt in 1415, Henry V. of England founded two royal monasteries on the banks of the Thames, one of which was the Brigittine monastery of Syon House, now at Chudleigh, in Devonshire, and the other the Carthusian Monastery at Sheen. For the purpose of initiating the new Syon House Monastery, Queen Philippa, the consort of Eric XIII. of Sweden, surnamed "of Pomerania," and daughter of King Richard II. of England, sent a company of Brigittine monks and nuns from Vadstena to England. Philippa herself lies buried in one of the vaults of the monastery Church at Vadstena, where her tombstone, containing an inscription reciting her great piety and a testimony of the love in which she was held by the people, may still be seen.

Let us again return, but for the last time, to Bridget herself. She was now well advanced in age, her seventieth year fast ap-

proaching, and she felt herself divinely inspired to accomplish another duty which still remained undone, i. e., a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[9] Her preparations for this long journey were very few and quickly made, two of the articles which she brought with her being still kept as relics in the Brigittine Convent of Altomünster, in Bavaria. One of these is a staff of rough hawthorn wood and the other a drinking cup of boxwood, on the bottom of which were carved the words, *"Jesu Naz. Rex Jud. Miserere."* This latter expression she is said to have used whenever she drank water. She is also reported to have planted the tree from the wood of which the cup was made, and a tradition to this effect has been handed down to posterity in the following verse, carved in type on the outside of the cup, but now almost obliterated by age:

"Hujus erat ligni satrix Birgitta beata
Hoc vase digni viventes cum pace grata."

As traveling companions, Bridget brought with her the two sons, Birger and Karl, her daughter Catherine, her friend Alphonso of Jaen, Prior Peter of Alvastra and her confessor, Peter Olafsson. At the commencement of the journey Bridget was accompanied as far as Naples by one of her most loyal and faithful friends, the young Roman noble Latino Orsini. Her journey through the Kingdom of Naples appears to have been somewhat in the nature of a triumphal progress, and the inhabitants flocked around her everywhere, endeavoring to prevail upon her to remain with them. At Naples she was even more enthusiastically received than during the former visit, the Archbishop of that city being now an old and valued friend of hers. When Queen Joanna was informed of the approach of the Swedish Princess, she immediately sent her generous supplies and provisions for the coming pilgrimage and entreated her also to pray for her while in the Holy Land. The Queen, who was a true disciple of Boccaccio, had in spite of her moral shortcomings a genuine affection and admiration for Bridget. This fact the latter did not readily appreciate, as no doubt the Queen appeared to the saint a very wicked and sinful creature. It may be mentioned in passing, however, that Queen Joanna's name is still remembered among the peasantry of Provence, of which she was hereditary Countess. In spite of her solemn pledge to the Barons at Aix not to alienate any of her estates in Provence,

[9] For further information relating to the Brigittine Order consult a recent religious publication of great value, entitled "St. Bridget of Sweden," by Francesca M. Steele (Darley Dale), published by Benziger Brothers, New York, chapter vii., pp. 48-57, and for information regarding the Syon House Monastery at Chudleigh, England, see Sir William Dugdale's "Monasticum Anglicanum."

Joanna had sold the city of Avignon to the Popes. But as she was the first of the rulers of Provence to give free grants of lands to the peasants and also built the canal which brings water to the town of Draguignan, her memory is held in loving remembrance by the peasants of Provence.

On the occasion of Bridget's last visit to Queen Joanna an incident of great human interest occurred which throws an amusing sidelight on the sombre and austere character of her life contrasted with the gay and luxurious atmosphere of Southern Italy. It appears that Bridget proceeded to the palace accompanied by her two sons, in order to pay their formal respects to the Queen. On being admitted to the audience chamber they were required, in conformity with the strict rules of etiquette of the court, to kneel and kiss the Queen's foot, and according to a tradition preserved in the monastery at Vadstena, Bridget had carefully taught her sons how to perform this act of homage. It is probable that Birger observed her mother's instructions to the letter, but when the turn came to Karl, he rose from his knees, beheld with admiration the handsome face of the Queen, who is said to have been still beautiful at the age of forty-five and, stooping down, applied a resounding kiss to the lips of the lovely Joanna. Instead of being offended by this sudden and impulsive exhibition of undue admiration, the Queen was clearly delighted with such a frank tribute to her charms, and at once fell in love with the handsome and reckless young Northerner. She told him she would be most pleased to have him remain in Naples as her favored guest, and even went to the length of declaring that she would like to marry him some day. It is easier to imagine than describe the effect of this "painful" incident on poor old Bridget, who told the Queen that not only was her wish a grievous sin in itself, as her own husband was still alive, but that Karl himself was a married man. Her reproof of the Queen and her son's conduct was, however, quite in vain and only seems to have rendered Joanna more obstinate in her purpose.

Bridget's case was surely one of an offended and virtuous parent, and she implored the assistance of heaven by means of fervent prayers. Her pious requests were soon granted, although in an unexpected manner. Karl was suddenly taken ill and died after a short illness of two weeks. Alphonso of Jaen gives us a faithful description of his death. It seems that he and others were present at the deathbed, where the last rites of the Church were about to be administered. About eight or ten steps from the bedside Bridegt was seated in a chair and as her son breathed his last she arose and approached him, but no sound escaped her nor did she shed a tear. She simply sat quietly with her hands uplifted, evidently prais-

ing God, Who had prevented a great intended wrong. After a period of useless grief Joanna gave orders for a funeral on a magnificent scale and caused the dead man's remains to be interred with great pomp and ceremony in the Naples Cathedral. Karl died on March 9, 1372. In the funeral procession Joanna and Bridget walked side by side behind the coffin; weeping and wailing were heard everywhere, but the old mother appeared calm and unmoved, externally at least, giving no outward sign of sorrow. According to Alphonso of Jaen she was an "immovable pillar of patience," and he expressed her thoughts in the following words: "Depart on thy pilgrimage, my son, blessed by God and by me."

On March 11, 1372, Bridget, accompanied by her surviving son Birger, her daughter Catherine and the others of her party, embarked for the Holy Land on a ship in the harbor of Naples. Difficulties arose immediately, however; the ship was not able to leave the harbor until the 14th, and after a five days' voyage, the pilgrims reached Messina, where the party stayed for a week. At that period mariners dreaded and avoided, so far as possible, the open sea, and in this instance the coast of Greece was closely followed for protection in case of storms. On March 30 the pilgrims arrived at the island of Cephalonia of the Ionian group, where they rested for two days. After leaving that place they encountered a violent storm, from which they sought refuge at Kos, on the coast of Asia Minor; on April 8 they left the harbor of that island, and on the 13th of April, 1372, after having been tossed about at the mercy of the storm for five days, the pilgrims landed at Famagusta, in Cyprus.

Since the close of the twelfth century the island of Cyprus had been governed by members of the house of Lusignan from the west of France. The most famous of these was Guy de Lusignan, the founder of the dynasty of that name in Cyprus, which had been ceded to him by Richard Coeur de Lion in consideration of his abdication of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1192. Bridget, whose fame had preceded her, was received at Famagusta with open arms by the Queen, Eleanor of Arragon, and her people. They prevailed on the Saint to remain in Cyprus for a few weeks, in spite of her objections to the splendor and luxury of the court, the lawlessness of the inhabitants, and no doubt her own impatience to reach the object of her pilgrimage. It appears that Queen Eleanor applied to Bridget for counsel and advice in her precarious position as actual ruler of the island, as her dominion had for a long period been distracted and torn by dynastic troubles and civic dissensions. Bridget gave her all the assistance in her power, and for a short time acted as the Queen's counsellor and friend.

Before leaving Cyprus for Palestine, Bridget had been advised by many to assume a disguise and stain her face a dark color, in order to avoid danger from the Saracens, but Bridget disdained to act upon this advice, although the conspicuous beauty of Catherine is said to have inclined her in a measure to yield to these entreaties.

Another of Bridget's most remarkable revelations bears the date of this period. She was shown in a vision how her dead son Karl had been received by God in the last judgment. This revelation is said to have occurred to the saint in what might be termed installments or successive stages, like acts in a play, commencing before she left Naples and continuing until her arrival in Jerusalem. The vision represented her son as the accused before the judgment bar of God, the Virgin Mary as his advocate, Satan as his chief accuser and God the Father as the final arbiter and judge. The devil was utterly discomfited and Karl at last acquitted and admitted to the eternal glory of the Pearly Gates chiefly or at least to a great extent owing to the great virtues, ceaseless prayers and severe penance of his mother. This is said to have been one of Bridget's greatest revelations, if not the greatest, and to have continued at intervals during the whole of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

At last Bridget and her companions landed at Jaffa, and starting from this point the party passed through Ramleh, the ancient Arimathia, and Latron, at that time known as the *"Castellum Boni Latronis."* On the third day the Holy City dawned upon their ecstatic vision. At Jerusalem, which she entered on Ascension day, May 13, 1372, Bridget took up her abode and that of her company in the Pilgrims' Hospice; and the holy places which had been purchased from the Sultan of Egypt by King Robert of Sicily and by him committed to the care of the Franciscan Fathers were now thrown open for the inspection and worship of the pilgrims. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre seems to have been her favorite place of meditation and prayer. She also visited Bethany, Genesareth, the Sea of Galilee and Bethlehem, Nazareth, the tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehosaphat and most of the other places memorable in connection with the life and passion of Christ. It does not appear that Bridget devoted herself exclusively to the adoration of relics, a custom at that time perhaps even more prevalent in the Church than to-day. At Bari she had in a wonderful manner secured a piece of bone of the Apostle Saint Thomas; and although she did not make it an object to collect relics, she gathered together a few souvenirs from the places visited, very much in the manner of the ordinary tourist of the present day. As already stated, a couple of these relics are still preserved in the monastery at Alto-

münster, and a list of these and other valuable objects preserved in that place and prepared in 1654 mentions "something" (without specifying its nature) from the place where Christ taught the Lord's Prayer to His disciples and "something" from the place where St. Peter shed bitter tears of repentance after having repudiated his Master.

During the stay in the Holy Land Bridget had an attack of illness, aggravated by her advanced age, her long life of asceticism and self-denial and the discomforts and privations of a long and perilous journey. The exact nature of her malady has never been ascertained, but it was destined to be her last. After a stay of over four months in Palestine, the pilgrims prepared to return to Italy by way of Cyprus, where they again landed at Famagusta on October 8, 1372, and were received with great cordiality by the Queen and the young King. On this occasion Bridget is reported to have addressed a severe admonition to the inhabitants of the island, in which she made a special effort to convert the schismatic Greek element of the population to the Church of Rome, threatening them with dire calamities and the vengeance of God if they did not improve their morals. The house of Lusignan continued to reign in Cyprus until the year 1489, when Queen Catherine Cornaro delivered the government of the island to her native city, Venice.

In the month of October the return of the pilgrims to Italy was resumed, and on her arrival in Naples, Bridget took up her residence in the royal palace, at the invitation of Queen Joanna. The pestilence had again broken out in that city and the Queen and the Archbishop greeted Bridget with the most effusive cordiality, no doubt believing her able to bring about its abatement. As usual, Bridget attributed the reappearance of the scourge to the sins and worldly manners of the population and the court and preached her customary penitential sermon. Her chief points of accusation are very characteristic of the period. The human features were painted in different colors, like senseless images and idols; people desired to appear more beautiful than God had made them; their clothes had an indecent cut and fit; men and women were distorted from their original shapes, and this was done from pride and a desire to appear more beautiful and frivolous than God had created worldly desires. Little heed was given to the passion of Christ, them, in order to excite in the spectators various temptations and how He stood at the pillar while being scourged, hung naked on the cross, covered with wounds and blood up to His eyes, dimmed with darkness, blood and tears, and so forth. The women of Naples conducted themselves like courtesans who loved sensuality, but did not trouble to bear children. When they discovered themselves to

be in a state of pregnancy they procured abortion by means of drugs and herbs, in order to be able to continue their life of pleasure. If those who lived in that manner desired to be saved, they should in the first place repent of their sins with all their hearts; in the second, confess all to their spiritual advisers, and, in the third, partake of the Holy Communion. To Archbishop Bernhard of Naples St. Bridget spoke of two other sins. Many heathen slaves were bought at Naples, but no attempts were made to convert them to the Christian faith or baptize them. In the case of such slaves as were baptized their masters did not provide for their instruction as to what the Church commanded in her sacraments; they sinned in various ways, but did not know how their sins might be expiated. There were men who considered their female slaves no better than bitches and either sold them to others or what was worse, delivered them to houses of ill-fame in order to receive a shameful and abominable profit, or otherwise they kept them in their own houses for the use of themselves and others. There were some who treated their servants so badly as almost to drive them to suicide. God, however, loved these unfortunates, because He had created them and because He came into this world Himself in order to save them. Some resorted to magicians and other miracle-workers in order to gain the affection of men and women as well as of their masters; others desired to elicit from such accursed people information as to what the future might have in store for them, and still others hoped to be cured of their diseases by such people. All such counsellors, male and female, were an abomination unto God, etc.

Bridget also severely reprimanded Queen Joanna. She (Joanna) should confess everything she had done from her childhood up and conform herself to the instructions of her confessor. She should particularly reflect on the manner in which she had conducted herself during her married life and in the administration of her government, because for what she had done she would be called upon to render an account before God. She should pay her debts and return that which she had unjustly acquired and not promise more than she could fulfill. She should not encumber the public with new taxes, but be satisfied with the customary revenues, because God listens to the cries and lamentations of the poor. Her advisers should be righteous and not influenced by greed. She should intrust jurisdiction to those who loved the truth and not be partial, nor try to enrich herself, but be satisfied with what was necessary. Each day, at stated times, she should meditate on the wounds and passion of Christ, because thereby love would be inspired in her heart. At certain times she should assemble around her the poor, wash their feet and console them. She should treat all her sub-

jects with sincere love, reconcile those who were at odds with one another and comfort those who had suffered injustice. She was to give alms in a rational manner and according to her ability, and not oppress some and favor others, but give wise assistance without injuring others. She should not so much consider the amount of penalty imposed as its justice; in the matter of crimes she should take into consideration the nature of the criminal, and wherever she could discern more of the human side of life, there she should bestow her greatest sympathy. She was to provide for the safekeeping of her kingdom after her death, as she could not expect to have any children. She should be satisfied with her natural complexion and the beauty of feature which God had given her, because unusual and gaudy colors are extremely displeasing to God. She must endeavor to acquire greater humility and a deeper repentance of her sins, since she would appear before God as having robbed Him of his souls, wasted His goods and caused His children anguish. In her heart she should always entertain a great fear of punishment, because she had led the life of a prostitute rather than that of a Queen. She was to lay aside all worldly habits, dismiss all female flatterers and use the remainder of her life, which was quite short (Joanna was about 45 years old at this period) for the glory of God, because up to that time she had conducted herself as a person who paid no heed to her sins. She must consider God as her judge. If she paid no attention to the divine voice, God would judge her not as a Queen, but as an ingrate and a renegade and chastise her from the crown of her head to the tip of her toes.

The foregoing is a good example of the frankness and fearlessness which characterized Bridget's advice to both high and low, and the fact that Joanna seemed to take no offense at Bridget's scoldings—for such they must have been—speaks volumes for her character. On the contrary, the Queen continued to befriend Bridget, who was at this time almost destitute of means, and Joanna's generosity alone enabled the saint to return to Rome. Bridget is said to have been deeply grieved at the abominable moral conditions which prevailed in beautiful Naples, but this was not the only fact which caused her distress, as the return of the Pope to Rome, which was her cherished dream, had not yet been brought about. In fact, she did not live long enough to witness it.

Toward the end of February, 1373, Bridget and her companions once more returned to Rome. This time she took up her lodgings in a house at the Piazza Farnese, which was to be her last. She was now utterly broken in health and her physical strength was almost wasted away. It is quite probable that it was this bodily

weakness which caused the many temptations to which she is said to have been exposed during the Lent of 1373. Honored by the great and powerful of the world, she felt tempted to pride on account of her high birth; the desires of the flesh, which had been strangers to her during her early life and marriage, commenced to harass the old woman (she must certainly have imagined them more serious than they were), and even doubts found their way into her soul, hideous doubts, as, for example, whether the Host which was elevated before the congregation during Mass *really* was the body of Christ. Upon the arrival of Easter, however, she at last obtained relief from her obsessions; the warm season was now approaching, and with it her remaining strength ebbed away hourly. On the 17th day of July she had a vision of Christ standing in front of the altar in her room, and He finally released her from her bondage of doubt and anxiety, stating that she was now to become His bride and plight her troth to Him before the altar. As His bride she was also to spiritually preside as mother superior of the convent at Vadstena. In the early morning of July 23, 1373, after having received Holy Communion, administered, according to some, by her friend, Alphonso of Jaen, Bridget expired, uttering the words, *"Domine, in manus tuas commendo animam meam."* ("Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.")

As soon as the news of her death had spread in Rome, it is said that almost the entire city crowded around her apartments and the vicinity of her house in the Piazza Farnese. On the afternoon of the same day, notwithstanding the humble wish to be buried quietly at night (she had commanded them to bury her secretly at night, but on account of the crowd this could not be done; see "Bollandists," October, p. 461), a long cortege composed of great numbers of the clergy and the highest of the Roman nobility accompanied the body to the convent church of the Poor Clares of San Lorenzo, in Panisperna, on the highest point of the Viminal Hill, which had been a favorite resort of the saint during her life. The body was enclosed in a wooden coffin, and as it was the desire of her relatives to convey the remains to Sweden to be preserved in the convent she had founded, it was also wrapped in cloth. Her son Birger, who during his stay in Palestine had been made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre; Latino Orsini, the Count of Nola and others affixed their seals to the seams of the cloth, in order to avoid future complications. The coffin was then deposited in a marble sarcophagus in the Church of San Lorenzo, in a place which Bridget herself had selected for that purpose.

It should be mentioned that at the time of Bridget's death many writers have stated that her intimate friend Bishop Alphonso de

Vadaterra was absent from Rome on a visit to the Pope in Avignon on some mission on behalf of Bridget, but this does not agree with the statement that the saint had received Holy Communion at the hands of Alphonso just before she died. According to the best authority, however, the Bishop of Jaen was in Avignon at the time of Bridget's death. Upon his return, preparations were immediately made to transport the remains to Sweden, and at the expiration of five weeks everything was in readiness for the journey. There seems to have been some difficulty in connection with the transportation of the coffin and it was therefore decided, after consultation with Bishop Alphonso, to have the flesh removed from the bones before commencing the journey. This task was assigned to the priest Magnus Petersson, who was an experienced anatomist, assisted by some Roman surgeons. The proceeding to be adopted for this purpose—the method appears rather gruesome—was the placing of the body in a tank of boiling water, together with some aromatic herbs. When, however, the hour for this operation had arrived, the seals broken and the coffin opened, it was found, according to the contemporaneous testimony of the above-mentioned Magnus, who was present at the time, that the flesh had entirely disappeared from the bones which were contained in the shroud, white and polished like ivory, as if the body had been in the grave for a period of ten years. The Catholic tradition, moreover, was to the effect that an exquisite fragrance proceeded from the coffin, and that the shroud which had contained the body was preserved dry and intact and did not present a single stain. The relics were now placed in a precious casket, with the exception, it is said, of the right arm, which was donated as a souvenir to the convent in Panisperna. Early in September the pilgrims left Rome, where they had resided for nearly twenty-eight years, embarked at Ancona for Triest and thence proceeded through Carinthia, Lower Austria, Poland and Prussia to Dantzic, where they embarked for Sweden.

While crossing the Baltic a strange incident appears to have occurred, which one of the party described as follows: "As we were on the sea which separates Sweden from Germany (the Baltic), and were quite uncertain, on account of the war, at what port of Sweden we might make the most convenient landing, there appeared suddenly in the sky about midday a dazzlingly brilliant star. It was first observed by a sick child on board, which showed it to us. We were greatly astonished at beholding such a bright star at the hour of noon, in full sunlight, and it seemed to precede and guide our ship." The party finally landed at the little harbor of Söderköping, in Ostrogothia, on June 29, 1374, less than a year after

Bridget's death. It is of interest to know that this little town, which at that time was quite a considerable seaport, now lies far inland, at a distance of several miles from the sea, proving the truth of Ovid's famous sentence:

> *"Vidi factas ex aequore terras,*
> *Et procul a pelago conchae jacuere marinae,*
> *Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis."*

In the mountain overlooking this little town and shown in the accompanying illustration iron rings have been found riveted in the rocks, indicating the mooring places of ships belonging to a legendary viking named Ramunder, who had his stronghold in this mountain and for whom it has been named.

From Söderköping the funeral procession, accompanied everywhere by vast crowds of people, proceeded to Linköping, the ancient seat of the Bishop of the diocese, and here Bishop Nicholas Hermansson received the pilgrims and the relics, which were afterward exposed for public veneration in the renowned Cathedral of that city. On July 4, 1374, as tradition has it, the procession reached Vadstena, Bridget's home town. The pilgrims carrying the remains of the famous saint proceeded to the convent gates, which were thrown wide open, the bells sounded their solemn salutation from the tower of the convent church and all the monks and nuns assembled to receive them. According to tradition, the relics were exposed for public veneration in the church for eight days, but the actual enshrinement did not take place until June 1, 1393. The remains of the saint still repose in the same casket in which they were transported across the continent of Europe, and to-day, after a lapse of nearly six hundred years, the bones may be viewed in the sacristy of the *"Klosterkyrkan"* (convent church) upon application to the sexton.

Of Bridget's pilgrim companions the two Peters returned to Alvastra, Magnus Petersson entered the Brigittine order, her own son Birger died in 1390, a year previous to the canonization of his mother and her daughter Catherine was subsequently beatified under the name of St. Catherine of Sweden and worshipped as the national saint *par excellence* of that country during the remaining part of the Catholic period. Meanwhile Catherine, again accompanied by Prior Peter of Alvastra and Peter Olafsson, had returned to Rome at the request of Bishop Nicholas of Linköping, in order to inaugurate and attend the canonization proceedings in that city. Arriving in Rome in the year 1376 (the year of the death of Gregory XI.), the two fathers took up their abode in the Cistercian monastery, while Catherine was again cordially received

by the Poor Clares of San Lorenzo, in Panisperna. Catherine at once secured an audience with Pope Gregory, shortly previous to his death. On the occasion of this visit she was attended by Peter Olafsson who carried the *"Liber Attestationum,"* containing an account of all the miracles wrought by Bridget before and after her death, whereupon the usual committee of Cardinals was appointed to investigate into the merits of the case. This committee was headed by the famous Cardinal Joannes de Turrecremata (Spanish, Torquemada.) Meanwhile Gregory XI. died and Bartolomeo Prignano was elected at Rome as his successor, under the title of Urban VI., while at Avignon Robert of Geneva, who styled himself Clement VII. was elected anti-Pope. This gave rise to the so-called great schism of the West. The bull of confirmation of the Brigittine order was issued in December, 1378, Cardinal de Sabran having been appointed to reëxamine it. The prime mover in the cause of the Brigittine order as well as the matter of Bridget's beatification was the daughter Catherine, who labored with this end in view, assisted by another famous saint, Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine of Sweden died, however, on March 24, 1381, long before her filial task could be finished.

Bridget's canonization finally took place on October 8, 1391, accompanied by much ecclesiastical pomp and in the presence of a great number of priests and nobles. From 6 o'clock in the evening of October 6 and throughout the night announcement of the impending event was made by the tolling of all the church bells in Rome; at 7 o'clock the next morning the doors of the Papal chapel in the Vatican were thrown open, Pope Boniface IX. celebrated Solemn High Mass in person and delivered a statement giving the reasons entitling Bridget to a place among the saints of the Church. A solemn procession passed through the Apostolic Palace, many already invoking the blessing and assistance of the newly created Saint, and a plenary indulgence was granted to all who would visit the churches for the purpose of adoring the new saint. At the conclusion of the Mass and sermon Bridget's name was inscribed by Boniface IX. in the "Liber Sanctorum," and at midnight thirty thousand lamps were lighted in St. Peter's, in addition to innumerable candles and torches. According to an old account, the Holy Roman Emperor and all the kings, princes and a great number of the prelates of the Catholic world assisted in person at this celebration.

The memory of Bridget is still kept alive in Rome at the monastery church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, where she once lived, in the Catacombs of St. Sebastian and in the Basilica of St. Paul's, where she had made frequent pilgrimages and where several of her

revelations occurred. The crucifix which she adored is still in existence and is uncovered on the first day of each month and on Wednesday of "Holy Week."

At the general or Oecumenical Council of Constanz, held from 1414 to 1418, during which Johann Huss suffered death at the stake, the great French theologist Jean Gerson, the energetic antagonist of religious mysticism, announced his doubts as to the genuineness of Bridget's revelations and the propriety of her canonization. At the subsequent Council of Basel, which commenced its labors in December, 1431, two Germans and one Spaniard submitted no less than 123 extracts from the *"Revelationes,"* which they did not consider truly orthodox. The members of the Council were divided into four nations, i. e., the Italian, sections or by committees, one of which was assigned to the consideration of articles of faith. Each of the nations was represented in the last named committee. The aforementioned Cardinal Turrecremata, a Dominican prior, professor of theology and *Magister Sacri Palatti,* residing in the Apostolic Palace, Papal Delegate at the Council; Heymerich de Campo, vice-chancellor of the University of Cologne; Joannes Roberti, Cistercian abbot and professor of theology, and Luigi de Pirano, of the Order of St. Francis and also professor of theology, all of them men of great prominence within the Church, pronounced themselves convinced of the genuineness and truth of the *"Revelationes."* The decision of this Council, however, was adverse to Bridget's cause; the "Revelations" were not approved and the seal of the Council's disapproval was also, and with much greater reason, placed on the pretensions of the Brigittine monks that her Revelations should be entitled to the same credit as the Evangels. But the effect of this decision was insignificant, in view of the existing schism. Pope John XXIII., whose election and authority were doubtful, confirmed the bull of canonization issued by Boniface IX., as well as the rules and constitution of the new order of St. Salvator. Finally, after the schism had ceased, Pope Martin V. (Otto Colonna) confirmed both the canonization and the rule in the year 1419.

Bridget's chief title to fame and the remembrance of mankind lies not so much in her visions or revelations, which have been doubted by many, as in her efforts to bring about reform not from without, but from within the Church. That these were largely unsuccessful was not her fault, but that of the period. As a reformer of the morals of her time and the customs and manners of the Church she holds and should hold an equal rank with such men as Savonarola, Erasmus of Rotterdam, Dante, William Durandus and others of equal fame, while her great piety and devotion to

religion have throughout subsequent ages endeared her name and memory to all the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Tourists in Sweden should not fail to visit the beautiful town of Vadstena, which contains so many interesting relics and places of historic interest dating from a time when the New World was still unknown to European civilization. From a religious and sentimental point of view, it should also become an object of ambition on the part of the faithful to endeavor to obtain possession of the ancient monastery founded by St. Bridget, now desecrated to the uses of a lunatic asylum, as well as the monastery church, which contains many and precious relics from a period when the entire Christian world recognized the See of Rome as its supreme religious authority.

Sven Magnus Gronberger.

Washington, D. C.

TWO ELIZABETHANS.

THE age of "good Queen Bess," as some of her admirers were wont to call her, is regarded as of tremendous importance in English history and English literature. To the historian it marks the end of the strong Tudor monarchy, to the *litterateur* it means an epoch of lyric sweetness in song and conclusive strength in drama, to the economist a period of commercial expansion unequaled in the history of the world, to the geographer an age when new lands were discovered and new colonies founded, when Hawkins and Raleigh, Drake and Cavendish, privateers and merchant adventurers, were building Britain's greatness across seven oceans, when bread was cast upon the waters which should return after many years with glory everlasting and the lordship of the sea. It was a time when, in letters and in commerce, men were able to rise quickly to posts of honor. Distinctions between classes never were before, nor have been since, so little regarded as they were then. University wits, masters in arts from Oxford and Cambridge, mingled on the stage and in the taverns with grammar school lads from Stratford and unschooled drunkards from Cheapside. Then, if ever, was a true democracy of letters. So let it not seem strange that we link together the names of Thomas Lodge, son of the Lord Mayor of London, and Ben Jonson, thundering bricklayer. The one was gentleman born and bred and ever, in the fashion of the time, subscribed himself as such—but he failed at several forms of literature, gained but a few small successes, and then drifted into the obscurity of the medical profession and flitting recusancy. The other began in humbler wise, fought a path for his huge frame almost on the very door of the Mermaid, gained the ear of a literary king who came down out of Scotland in 1603, and as regular writer of court masques reveled in the gorgeous pageantry of nobility. We do not know if the two ever met. We are aware of only two things they had in common, aside from their tastes for scribbling, namely, the remembrance of adventurous younger days and the experience of conversion. Because of this dissimilarity—a dissimilarity which, by the way, exists also in the very tenor of every line they wrote—it is only in our mind's eye that we can see them sitting together at some dusky London tavern, quaffing huge cups of malmsey or sack, making the very mulliared panes of those old windows shake with the roar of boisterous laughter, and seeing in the wraiths of smoke which drifted lazily up against the dark oaken beams—seeing such creatures, persons and places as never were on sea or land, as only their rare spirits could call down to earth:

"Souls of poets, dead and gone!
What Elysium have ye known,
Happy field, or mossy cavern,
Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?"

I.

"Protogenes can know Apelles by his line though he see him not, and wise men can consider by the Penn of aucthorite of the writer though they know him not."—Thos. Lodge.

The usage of biography requires that I state at the outset that Thomas Lodge was born probably in 1556 or 1557, and died of the plague in 1625. Says Edmund Gosse:

"If a full and continuous biography of Thomas Lodge could be recovered, it would possess as much interest to a student of Elizabethan manners and letters as any memoir that can be imagined. It would combine, in a series of pictures, scenes from all the principal conditions of life in that stirring and vigorous age. It would introduce us to the stately civic life of London city, to Oxford in the early glow of humanism and liberal thought, to the dawn of professional literature in London, to the life of a sailor on the high seas, to the poetry of the age, and then to its science, to the stage in London and to the anatomical lecture-room in Avignon, to the humdrum existence of a country practitioner, and to the perilous intrigues of a sympathizer with Catholicism trembling on the verge of treason."[1]

Such is usually the case of any man who makes a name, but not a great name, in the field of letters. The man of genius overcomes obstacles, blazes his own single trail and the world makes a beaten path to his door. But he who is not so successful touches the life of his age in many ways. Thus in Defoe we find a truer reflection of his times than in Addison, in Southey a fuller landscape than in Byron, in Lodge a more typical view of Elizabethan days than in Shakespeare. The one is confined to letters, the other touches on nearly every phase of contemporary politics, commerce and thought. In one we get an idea; in the other ideas. And justly has Mr. Atkins said of Lodge: "His restless, unsettled career was typical of his age."

It is almost characteristic of the spirit of colonization and the lure of scarce discovered lands that Lodge's first book defended something which did not yet exist. He had been to the Merchant Taylor's School, attended Trinity College at Oxford and was in

[1] Edmund Gosse, "Seventeenth Century Studies," p. 1. This memoir by Mr. Gosse can be supplemented only by Sir Sidney Lee's excellent article in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and by a German study, R. Carl: "Neber Thos. Lodge's Leben und Werks. Eine Kritische Untersuchung im Auschuss au David Laing. In Anglia." Vol. X. (1887), pp. 235-289.

residence in Lincoln's Inn, probably "eating his way to the bar," as the phrase goes, when Stephen Gosson issued "The School of Abuse" in 1579, attacking an evil which then scarcely existed, attacking even before it commenced, that great activity of heart and mind which has made memorable two words in all the English language—"Elizabethan Literature." There was a certain unforeseen justice in Lodge's answer: "No meruel though you disprayse poetrye, when you know not what it meanes! . . . Then that have knowledge what comedies and tragedies be wil comend them, but it is sufferable in the folish to reprove that they know not." At any rate, Lodge was prompt in reply. We are ignorant as to the name of his tract, for the title pages of both existing copies are lost. We are ignorant of his motive, for though it was charged that the players advertised for a supporter to their cause, there is no certainty as to why Lodge in particular took up the gauntlet. But take up the gauntlet he did, and in no uncertain or delicate terms assailed the Puritan. He told Gosson that that Puritan was trying to raise up a new set of unnatural stoics, that he had forgotten his learning since leaving college, and that he never gained proper instruction from his reading. Lodge defended literature on somewhat the same grounds as Sidney. "A heavenly, a perfect gift," says Lodge. "To teach and delight," added Sidney. Lodge's pamphlet, though not comparable to Sidney's fine philosophical study, yet deserves credit for being the first in the field.

But it is noteworthy that Lodge can point with pride to no British publication and has to be content with mentioning the classics as proof of his contention. His next care was to produce what he had praised. Records for these years are very scant, but we at least know that in 1584 he produced an "Alarum Against Usurers," a tract somewhat of the type we usually associate with Desher, and in 1589 "Scilla's Metamorphosis," a classical poem in the decorative manner of romance. In the latter he declares his intention

> "To write no more of that whence shame doth grow
> Or tie my pen to penning knaves' delight,
> But live with fame and so for fame to write."

Scholars have been inclined to interpret this as a decision to abandon writing for the stage, but there is doubt as to whether or what he had written in a dramatic vein before. We do at least know that he associated no longer with cheap scribblers, but rather with Daniel and Drayton, and then took himself far afield.

Lodge's next published work was his most famous "Rosalynde," 1590. Significantly he says in his preface "to the gentleman readers:"

"Room for a soldier and a sailor, that gives you the fruits of his labors that he wrote in the ocean, when every line was wet with a surge and every humorous passion counterchecked with a storm. If you like it, so; and yet I will be yours in duty if you be mine in favor. But if Momus or any squint-eyed ass that hath mighty ears to conceive with Midas, and yet little reason to judge, if he came aboard our bark to find fault with the tackling, when he knows not the shrouds, I'll down into the hold and fetch out a rusty pole-axe that saw no sun this seven year, and either well baste him or heave the cockscomb overboard to feed cods."

This was the spirit of an adventurer who heard the winds and the waves roar, who boarded a Spanish galleon with as light a heart as he cribbed stanzas from any French or Italian book. No mere chance led this young man on the seas abroad. It was the spirit of the age. And his discoveries were not merely reckoned in peoples and lands or Spanish doubloons. He sailed, about 1588, for the Azores and the Canaries, where, perhaps under the very guns of Angra, he wrote this prose romance, modeling partly after the pseudo-Chaucerian "Tale of Gamelyn" and partly after his own fancy, but modeling so well that Shakespeare was content to adopt it almost unaltered for the immortal plot of "As You Like It." Says Mr. Grey: "It has been treated merely as a source, as a thing of no value in itself; the interest it has aroused has been antiquarian rather than literary." But there are situations in it which are unforgettable: Where Rosader woos Rosalynde in the person of Ganymede in a courtly and courteous style the world has unhappily long forgotten, where Rosader saves from a lion the brother who has done him wrong, where Rosader refuses aid and nourishment until his old and feeble friend Adam is properly relieved. The style is after the balanced manner of Lyly—rhetorical, allusive, figurative, conventional. And this influence of the author of "Euphues" is seen in the very sub-title of Lodge's book, "Euphues' Golden Legacie;" it is seen in passages of "The Wounds of Civil War," "A Looking-glass for London and England;" "The Life and Death of William Longbeard," particularly in the romance "Euphues' Shadow," sent from America and pushed through the press in 1592 by poor, unfortunate Robert Greene. Whether this imitation of the cantly phrase of Lyly was due to a probable personal connection at Oxford, or to the prevailing mode of the time, it is difficult to determine. But it matters little. There are passages in "Rosalynde" that have an undying charm. When Sir John of Bordeaux bids farewell to his sons, there are sentiments as fine and almost as well expressed as the advice of Polonius to Laertes. This personal romance in prose, which incidentally has nothing at all to

do with the sea, may stand on its own worth—not very high, perhaps, but yet high enough to be read, admired and loved for many generations to come.

It is not true, as Mr. Atkins has said, that in Lodge's next important work, "Phillis" (1595), "environment worked only by contrast." This, like "Rosalynde," was "hatched in the storms of the ocean and feathered in the surges of many perilous seas."[2] In "Rosalynde" there were pastoral fields instead of sea waves, but in "Phillis"—one of those curious sonnet sequences so popular in the last decade of the sixteenth century—there are references aplenty to "the wat'ry world, where now I sail." For these delicate complimentary songs, surpassed only by the charming lyrics which dot the letter-press of "Rosalynde," are never far from "the wrestling waves." Sea nymphs are under the bow and Cupid is at the helm. The poems were written on another adventurous expedition into waters ruled by proud Castile and lordly Aragon, when Lodge shipped with the great seaman Cavendish to South America, Brazil and even the Straits of Magellan. They were written in the pastoral vein, to a shepherdess at home tending her flocks on gentle slopes; but they do not completely forget, in their imagery, the rush of water past the ship or the hiss of a foaming wake. They are neither pure pastorals nor pure piscatories. They blend the two. One is an elegy at parting, when

> "The winds are fair, the sails are hoisted high,
> The anchors weighed."

Another, Sonnet XI., is entirely and completely concerned with the imagery of sea scenes:

> "My frail and earthly bark, by reason's guide,
> Which holds the helm, whilst will doth wield the sail,
> By my desires, the winds of bad betide,
> Hath sailed these worldly seas with small avail,
> Vain objects serve for dreadful rocks to quail
> My brittle boat from haven of life that flies
> To haunt the sea of mundane miseries.
> My soul that draws impressions from above,
> And views my course, and sees the winds aspire,
> Bids reason watch to 'scape the shoals of love;
> But lawless will enflamed with endless ire
> Doth steer em poop, whilst reason doth retire.
> The streams increase; love's waves my bark do fill;
> Thus are they wracked that guide their course by will."

And yet Mr. Atkins insists that environment worked only by

[2] Lodge, in the dedication to "Rosalynde."

contrast,[3] and Miss Crav that "as far as the imagery of the sonnets is concerned, the pageantry of day and night at sea might have passed before blinded eyes!"[4] We can only conclude that the eyes of these two editors were blinded when they turned past the pages containing the "Elegy" and this "Sonnet XI."

To continue the figure, Lodge was not blind to the beauties of the sea nor—as the very penetrating gaze of Sir Sidney Lee has discovered—was he blind to the beauties of other literatures. He casually joined a plundering expedition to South America and just as casually played the freebooter among the poems of Petrarch, Rousard, Ariosto, Sanazzara, Bembo, Paschale and Desportes. Sir Sidney Lee has traced eighteen out of the thirty-four poems in "Phillis" to foreign sources, and says finally of Lodge: "He merits the first place among Elizabethan plagiarists."[5] And, in extenuation, all we can say is that when other men pillaged at sea, so did Lodge; when other men stole Continental metres and concepts in literature, so did Lodge.

If literary men of those times and sometimes especially were particularly prone to borrowing foreign forms and phrases, the same can scarcely be said of the dramatists. A reckless and irresponsible crew they were indeed, but the predecessors of Shakespeare moulded a new form and created a new method and purpose on the stage. The fall of princes, the virtue of ladies, the value of courage, the clash of conflicting wills—these were subjects which in a British theatre brought to their toes groundlings who were already on their feet. Lodge touched but slightly the moods of the playwrights. "The Wounds of Civil War" and "A Looking-glass for London and England" were probably both presented while he was absent from England, and, though our evidence in this, as in other matters concerning Elizabethan drama, is very scant, it was probably his friend Robert Greene, "Maister in Arts," who saw them on the stage. We are not sure when they were produced—possibly before the "Scilla's Metamorphosis" (1589) mentioned above, certainly before 1594, when they were both printed. It is also probable that of many other pieces attributed to him, "A Larum for London," not printed until 1602, was also by Lodge. These form the total of his productive work in that field of the drama for which he wrote his premature defense in 1570, and the "Looking-glass" was a collaboration play, written with Greene. None of the plays is good. "A Larum for London" is the least distinguished; "The Wounds of Civil War," founded on that Plutarch which Shakespeare had to use in translation, has the best plot, and "A Looking-glass for

[3] In the "Cambridge History of English Literature."

[4] "Elizabethan Sonnet Cycles, Philis-Licia," p. 18.

[5] Article in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

London and England," telling of the sins of Nineveh,[6] has the best scenes. These last two show undoubted influences of Marlowe:

> "I'll make her streets, that peer into the clouds,
> Burnish'd with gold and ivory pillars fair,
> Shining with jasper, jet and ebony,
> All like the palace of the morning sun,
> To swim within a sea of purple blood,
> Before I lose the name of general"[7]

and "Six hundred towers that topless touch the clouds,"[8] and an impassioned scene on the dire distress that shall fall on Nineveh,[9] and a repetitious declamation:

> "Come, lads, though Rasin wants his Radagon,
> Earth will repay him many Radagons,
> And Alinda with pleasant looks revive
> The heart that droupes for want of Radagon"—

all these remind us of him who reached so high and fell so low—Marlowe. But even these tales of wars in Flanders, civil strife in Rome and apocalyptic dominations are never far from Lodge's own British town. There are humble scenes—menials who speak Londonese, "jolly stuff," drinkings, beatings, rollicking songs, social satire on deceitful lawyers and usurious knaves; and all these scenes are really in Cheapside or Southwark. It was no mere chance that Lodge wrote so well[10] "the tidings full of wonder and amaze." Says the rubric, "Enter the merchant of Tharsus, the M. of the ship, some sailors wet from the sea," and then follows a description of a storm at sea. Not from the city of St. Paul did Lodge get his material, nor even from Holy Scripture. He got it himself on one of these voyages made in the company of adventurous British seamen.[11] And yet, except for some few such purple patches as these, there is nothing distinctive or distinguished in his dramatic work. In the words of Collier, "One of his original pieces [which were very few] made melancholy reference to his want of success in different spheres of life, and especially in connection with the stage."[12] So, to quote again, "Lodge, at best but a wayfarer in the hostel of

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[6] Cf. The "motions," puppet show of Nineveh, mentioned in "Every Man Out of His Humor," Act II., scene 1.

[7] "The Wounds of Civil War," Act I., scene 1.

[8] "A Looking Glass for London and England," Act I., Scene 1., cf. Marlowe: 'The Topless Towers of Illium."

[9] Differs in final resolution from the final scene of "Dr. Fautus."

[10] Assuming that he wrote it, not Greene, for we have eschewed what Mr. Saintsbury calls "the fruitless and always uncertain task of separation."

[11] In one of his pamphlets Lodge tells "Of maine famous pirats, who in times past were Lordes of the Sea."

[12] J. P. Collier in introduction to an edition of "William Longbeard."

the drama, made way for a throng of inpouring enthusiasts—and made way contemptuously.[13]

The last thirty years of Lodge's life, from 1595 to 1625, are the most interesting and the least studied. They are also the years with which recent research has least concerned itself, and it is probably to them that future scholars will turn, not so much for material illustrative of the drama as for insight into the purely personal activities of a declining age. In 1600, we are told, Lodge took a medical degree at Avignon and in 1602 was incorporated as "Doctor of Physic" in the University of Oxford. He had little to do with the theatre, though he was probably friendly with Dekker, and he devoted himself to his profession and to translation of serious tomes from foreign languages. There are, in the documents of that period which have survived the wear of time and the misuse of libraries, occasional references to him as a medical man, and Mr. Gosse has unearthed a letter which indicates that Lodge was active in Catholic circles in years when such activity was unpopular, if not dangerous. For Lodge had definitely gone over to Rome.

In years when British materialism was almost synonymous with ardent Protestantism, Lodge had forgotten the religious differences which sharpened the Armada conflict into an almost sectarian warfare. In his "Life of Robin the Devil" (1591) he had shown an evident sympathy for Roman forms of worship.[14] In "A Larum for London" (1594-1602) he assails "the swelling pride and tyrannie of Spaine" and yet makes no attack on religious grounds, although a priory, a convent and the Mass are casually mentioned. In "The Life and Death of William Longbeard" (1593), though there is a dissembling "Abbot of Cadonence in Normandie," Lodge tells of a Pope who overcomes a wicked pirate, speaks of a queen building a church in honor of Our Lady, and elsewhere refers in decorous words to the Blessed Virgin. This tendency is all the more noteworthy when we find him on that expedition with Cavendish in 1592 reading from a library of the fathers in a college of Jesuits at Santos. We are delightfully reminded, as we think of Lodge bending over those old books, of the words of Cicero in the oration in defense of Archias, the poet, where he remarks that these studies and tastes for literature are of all times and of all places, and then goes on to say, *"Pemoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."*[15]

Perchance this inclination and this familiarity with Catholicism

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[13] Professor G. P. Baker in "Cambridge History of English Literature," Vol. V., p. 140.

[14] There was nothing remarkable in the priest solemnizing the marriage of Rosader and Rosalynde. Even Spenser used the word "priest" without resentment in "The Shepherdes Calender."

[15] Quoted, by chance, by Lodge in his "Defense of Poetry" in 1579.

was the chiefest treasure—we know of no other that he brought—Lodge brought back with him from that expedition. For the faint touch of Catholicism evident in "The Devil Conjured" (1596) and "Wit's Misery" (1596) is strengthened and deeply confirmed in a religious tract, "Prosopoeia; or, Tears of the Holy, Blessed and Sanctified Mary, the Mother of God," published in 1596. By 1623[16] he was able to write of these things in the tone of secure acceptance. And the reason for all this lies probably in his second marriage, about the year 1596, with a Mrs. Jane Albridge (or Aldred), a Catholic widow, who was formerly a dependent of Lodge's early patron, Sir Francis Walsingham, and who had established quite a reputation for herself as an active recusant.

So with a growing practice and an increasing professional reputation, Thomas Lodge ended his days in communion with the Holy See at Rome. He tried to win a reputation at many things, stooped to scurrilous pamphleteering, traveled across the seas as a free-booter, wrote some bad plays, penned a series of exquisite sonnets, contributed one splendid prose romance to increase the glory of Elizabethan literature, and finally turned in middle life to a new profession and to a new faith. Whether all his efforts and all his journeys were worth the labor, whether all his polemics, his poetry and his plays brought him any satisfaction, it is not for us to say. Lost in the records of the past are the many personal details which went to make up the daily life of a man who emerged but now and then into the public prints. At all events, he has left us something to charm our reading hours; and across the page sways and sweeps the shadow of his curious and many-sided personality. With Keats we can only wonder and hazard the query:

> "Bards of Passion and of Mirth!
> Ye have left your souls on earth.
> Have ye souls in heaven, too,
> Double-lived in regions new?"

II.

The second of our Elizabethans, Ben Jonson, was born in 1573 and died in 1637, and his best work for the stage was done between 1598 and 1614, after Lodge had retired. Like the great Samuel Johnson of a century and a half later, he himself is more interesting than anything he ever wrote. He of all men is the person who made the Mermaid Tavern famous:

> "There, flitting to and fro with cups of wine,
> I heard them toss the chrysomelean names
> From mouth to mouth—Lyly and Peale and Lodge,

[16] "The Poor Man's Talent" (1623).

Kit Marlowe and the rest,
With Ben, rare Ben, bricklayer Ben, who rolled
Like a giant galleon on his ingle-bench.
Some twenty years of age he seemed: and yet
This huge gargantua with the bulldog jaws,
The T, for Tyburn, branded on his thumb,
And grim pock-pitted face, was graveting tales
To Dekker that would fright a buccaneer—
How in the fierce Low Countries he had killed
His man, and won that scar on his bronzed fist;
And, now returned to London, was resolved
To blast away the vapours of the town
With Boreas-throated plays of thunderous mirth.
'I'll thwack their tribulation-wholesanes,[17] lad,
Their Yellow-faced Envies and lean Thorns-i'-the-Flesh.' "[18]

In other words, he was a man with what might be called a roaring personality. He was a fighter. He had fought on the battlefield for certain principles and now was disposed to fight on the stage for other principles. His most famous character, Captain Bobadill, a first study for Falstaff, boasts of having completed a single combat in the face of the army,[19] but Jonson had actually done the thing himself.

"In his service in the Low Countries he had, in the face of both the campes, killed ane enemie and taken *opima spolia* from him."[20]

And he likewise had boasted of his deed in the epigram "To True Soldiers:"

"I swear by you, true friend, my Muse, I love
Your great profession, which I once did prove;
And did not shame it with my actions then,
No more than I dare now do with my pen."

After returning to England, "being appealed to the fields, he had killed his adversarie, which had hurt him in the arme, and whose sword was larger than his, for the which he was emprissoned, and almost at the gallows."[21] Again he got into a fight, though the killing of this Gabriel Spenser would seem to have been serious

[17] "Tribulation Wholesome, a pastor of Amsterdam," is a character in "The Alchemist," and will be mentioned later. In Shakespeare's "Henry VIII. (Act V., Scene 3) there is a reference to the Tribulation of Tower Hill, which evidently means the meeting of some particular set of Puritans.

[18] From "Tales of the Mermaid Tavern," by Alfred Noyes.

[19] "Every Man in His Humor," Act IV., Scene 5.

[20] "Conversations with William Drummond," the Shakespeare Society, 1842, a valuable source for biographical material. Hereafter referred to as Drummond.

[21] Drummond.

enough to have been a warning. "He had many quarrells with Marston, beat him, and took his pistol from him."[22] And he demonstrated his courage in another way when this same Marston and Chapman, with both of whom he had collaborated on "Eastward Hoe!" were imprisoned for some sentiments contained in that play. Jonson forthwith marched into the jail and declared that he would share their punishment. Finally, Jonson even quarreled with the renowned architect, Inigo Jones, to whom he was under obligations, if he did not actually owe him for bread and butter. But this quarrel was more of the quill and ink honor than of the pistol and powder box. Jonson wrote, condemning, though he feigned to overlook:

"Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand."

This thundering person was ever in the thick of what we now call "the war of the theatres," for he had set out in the very beginning to be a reformer. Though his comedies frequently did not pay for fire and doorkeeper in the theatre,[23] and "off all his playes he never gained two hundreth pounds,"[24] he had the courage to maintain his principles in the face of failure. There were two great dramatic reformers of this age, one a romantic, the other a realist. There was Marlowe, who said:

"From jigging veins of rhyming mother wits
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We lead you to the stately tents of war."

There was Jonson, ten years later, who said he would give

"Deeds and language, such as men do use,
And persons, such as comedy would choose,
When she would show an image of the times,
And sport with human follies, not with crimes."

He thought the formlessness of the English drama deplorable and its violation of the unities outrageous. He despised the unnatural wars, the bombastic rhetoric and the political intrigue—on the stage. "These paper pedlars! these ink-dabblers! . . . are the most shallow, pitiful, barren fellows that live upon the face of the earth." He believed, as Ludovic Halévy has since stated, that "the drama is not the land of chimeras and fantasy, it is one of the exact sciences;" and let slip no occasion to criticize those who violated the ancient principles by which alone he deemed perfection could be attained. "The rough and rugged one," he called a character who was supposed to represent himself, and there was little of the smoothness of old-time culture in his violent criticisms.

[22] Drummond.

[23] Gervinius, "Shakespeare Commentaries."

[24] Drummond.

As early as 1598 he condemned "Hieronimo Is Mad Again!"—an old play which needed condemnation. In 1599 he was supposed to be ridiculing Marston and Dekker, and in "The Poetaster" (1501) he openly attacked them. In "Cynthia's Revels" (1600) he laughs at Marston and the Euphemists and raves against pastoral conventions.[25] In "Every Man Out of His Humour" he made fun of platonic love as it appeared in the sonnets. Small wonder, then, that Mr. Herford has called criticism "the dominant habit of Jonson's mind." There is nothing accidental in this writing of Jonson's, none of the dilettantism which crops up from time to time in Lodge. He wrote a splendid appreciation of the rôle poetry should play, which unfortunately appeared only in the first edition of "Every Man in His Humour." And he wished to exalt "the despised head of poetry again, and strip her out of those rotten and base rags wherein the times have adulterated her form."[26] His theory he sought to sustain by hard work and determination, and it sometimes chanced that his theory overshadowed his genius.

Nor was his witticism confined to literary topics. In those diverging days of Elizabeth men went

> "To see the wonders of the world abroad, . . .
> Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there;
> Some to discover islands far away,
> Some to the studious universities."

Ben Jonson cared not if they went abroad, but he would have them return home as good Englishmen as when they left. He stood for solid nationalism, a centre about which the growing Empire might revolve. But he had no use for fashions imported from other lands —for the affectation of the "Englishman Italianate," for the insincerity of the religious fanatics from Holland, for the fripperies which the gallant brought home from Paris.

> "With an armed and resolved hand
> I'll strip the ragged follies of the time."[27]

It is social witticism of a keen and piercing kind which gives a unity and a purpose to his writing that enables us to put him beside Langland and Malory, Chaucer and Thomas More, as a man who writes not only for his own time, but for all time; not only for all time, but directly for his own.[28]

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[25] Tieck thinks that the closing lines of the epilogue of this play furnished Shakespeare with the title of "As You Like It."

[26] Dedication to "Volpene, or The Fox."

[27] It is significant that Jonson gives English characters to the Italian plot on which he built the play "Every Man in His Humor."

[28] A case in point refers to the practice of gallants sitting upon the very stage. Yet "The Gull's Horn Book" and "The Old Wive's Tale," usually mentioned in this connection, do not illustrate the practice better than Jonson's "Every Man Out of His Humor" and "Cynthia's Revels."

Jonson knew the Elizabethan age as only that man knows who has tried its adventures and undergone its hardships. This man whom critics have tried to identify with Shakespeare's Ajax, "the mongrel, beef-witted lord,"[29] was "brought up poorly, put to school by a friend, after taken from it, and put to one other craft;" yet "he was better versed and knew more in Greek and Latin than all the poets in England." The trade of bricklayer could bring no such distinction as that of letters; and aside from becoming official masque writer to King James, he was finally made Master of Arts in both the universities, by their favor, not his studies."[30] He had literally to struggle forward, even sometimes having violent disagreements with those who were "sealed of the tribe of Ben." If he was "given rather to losse a friend than a jest," his companions were no less careful of his feelings. One of them wrote for him an epitaph which Jonson good-naturedly communicated to Drummond:

"Here lyes Benjamin Johnson dead,
And hath no more wit than [a] goose in his head;
That as he was wont, so doth he still,
Live by his wit and evermore will."

And sometimes his living was not so easy. We have already mentioned the small sum he said he received from his comedies. It was true, of course, that "every first day of the new year he had twenty pounds sent him from the Earl of Pembroke to buy bookes."[31] It was true that he can in a sense be called the first poet laureate, because he received a regular "pension" in the form of a barrel of wine. But even the wine was not delivered punctually and he had, at least once, to write a rebuke to the royal authorities.

"What can the cause be, when the King hath given
His poet sack, the Household will not pay?"

But there was one thing in Ben Jonson's life which was probably a more dangerous adventure than any "war of the theatres" or actual battle in the field. He told Drummond that when he was in prison he embraced a new religion; and though he perhaps did not embrace it very ardently, it was at least risky to be on speaking terms with Catholicism.

"Then [1598] took he his religion by trust, of a priest who visited him in prisson. Thereafter he was twelve yeares a Papist. . . . After he was reconciled with the Church, and left of to be a recusant, at his first Communion, in token of true reconciliation, he drank out all the full cup of wine."[32]

[29] See "Troilus and Cressida," Act I., Scene 2, ll. 19-32.
[30] These three quotations from Drummond.
[31] Drummond.
[32] Drummond.

It shall not be our purpose here, as some Catholic writers have done, to gloat over his conversion, to elaborate unnecessarily on all too scanty details, or to speak of his later return to Anglicanism as a "shameful apostasy." There is too much impassioned intolerance put to paper already. Suffice it to remark that by Northampton he was "accused of Poperie and treason" for his "Sejanus" (1603), and that we must not forget the words "by trust." Speaking of this qualifying admission, Mr. Herford has spoken quite sensibly:

"It would be rash to assert, in the face of this phrase, that his conviction was very profound, or that it was reached by a very elaborate process of reasoning. But it is still more out of the question to treat it as a mere whim. The heresy which he had embraced in prison when in the very grasp of the Queen's Government and danger of his life, he retained for twelve years among the more subtle temptations of court favor; and had recusancy been a safer and easier game than it was, the sterling honesty of Jonson is wholly above suspicion. He is entitled to the credit of equal sincerity when he took his first sacrament in prison bread, and when, a dozen years later, he characteristically drained the cup "in token of true reconciliation." At the same time the sturdy heroism involved in recusancy under Elizabeth may well have had a certain attraction for this soldier among poets, who, without canting the rôle of Ishmael, played it, when forced upon him, with a certain grim zest. And it may be suggested also that the most ancient of living forms of Christianity appealed powerfully to the scholar Jonson, whose 'humbler gleanings in divinity after the fathers' were long afterwards among the ruined treasures of his study."[33]

And we know that he condemns Presbyterianism in "A Tale of a Tub." He attacks Puritans in "Bartholomew Fair," particularly Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, formerly a baker, who dreams now and sees visions, and ridicules in "The Alchemist" those who "whine of purity and hypocrisy." It was not safe then, when the Puritan middle class was gathering strength for the great rebellion, to say of them: "Dum vitant stutivitia, in contraria currunt," or to speak as follows to a pastor of Amsterdam and Ananias, his deacon:

> "Call yourselves
> By names of Tribulation, Persecution,
> Restraint, long-patience, and such-like, affected
> By the whole family or mood of you,
> Only for glory, and to catch the ear
> Of the disciple."[34]

[34] "The Alchemist," Act III., Scene 2.

[33] From the introduction to the Mermaid edition.

In "Bartholomew Fair" (1614)—and the date is important, because it was after Jonson had returned to Anglicanism—he inserts among other ridiculous statements from the lips of Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, a condemnation of "those superstitious relics, those lists of Latin, the very rags of Rome, and patches of Popery. (The surrounding context is significant.) In "Every Man in His Humour" (1598) he commends a rigid Roman Catholic who stands by his oath; there is "The Ghyrland of the Blessed Virgin Marie" (1635), which has been attributed to him; in "Volpone, or the Fox" (1605), he has a decent reference to a good Catholic; and though he does allow himself to tell Drummond a joke on a Catholic king, he more than compensates by saying to the same man of Hawthornden:

"That Southwell was hanged (in 1595); yet so he had written that piece of his, the 'Burning Babe,' he would have been content to have destroyed many of his."

But it is silly to try to quarrel over the religious beliefs of these men.

Ben Jonson in his work and in his influence has left an imperishable heritage. To them we should direct attention. His work is many-sided. "Sejanus" (1603) is a Roman tragedy worthy of Shakespeare. His "Explorata, or Discoveries," were equal, if not superior, to the famous "Essays of Francis Bacon,"[35] and led Swinburne to say, "A fool may talk, but a wise man speaks." He has been given by scholars a rollicking ballad in Percy's "Reliques" called "The Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow." His classical learning underlies all his work[36] and bring us some apt, though not exact, translations from Horace and Martial. Coleridge remarks that "The Alchemist" has one of the three most perfect plots ever planned, and Dryden that "The Silent Woman" represents the highest perfection of dramatic art on record. Says Swinburne: "Not even the ardor of his most fanciful worshippers, from the data of Cartwright and Randolph to the data of Gilchrist and Pifford, could exaggerate the actual greatness of his various and marvelous energies."[37]

In his plays he set a new fashion. He tried to abide by the unities. He took into full consideration the difficulties of actual stage representation,[38] and yet, with the possible exception of Shakes-

[35] Much credit must be given Jonson for his high praise in these "Discoveries," as also in "Underwoods," for the disgraced Lord Vauclain.

[36] Even "Every Man Out of His Humor."

[37] To this Swinburne says: "Il maestro di color che sanno."

[38] For instance, he tells Drummond that "he had an intention to have made a play like 'Plautus Amphitrio,' but left it off, for that he could never find so two like others that he could persuade the spectators they were one."

peare, he was less contaminated with the clamor of popular wish than any other dramatist of his time. He had a scholar's ideas of what was right and wrong, and therefore composed his plays to fit those ideas, not to fit the public—which was therefore less pleased with them. Where Shakespeare chose what he thought fitting and welded all together, Jonson vigorously rejected what he deemed unfitting and kept the remainder. The artistic results were not far different from a technical point of view; but the modes of work were quite contrary. The product in both cases bore the undisputed marks of genius.

Now at the end of this essay we shall put three quotations from Ben Jonson which in a way summarize his difficulties, his ideals and his enduring charm. Not only that. They typify the same things and could be applied to almost any worthy writer of the age of Elizabeth.

First, as to his critics against whom he fought:

"At last they would object to me my poverty: I confess she is my domestic; sober of diet, simple of habit, frugal, painful, a good counsellor to me, that keeps me from cruelty, pride or other more delicate impertinences, which are the nurse-children of riches."

Second, as to his ideal and aim:

> "Indeed if you will look on poesy
> As she appears to many, poor and lame,
> Patch'd up in remnants and old worn-out rags,
> Half-starved for want of her peculiar food,
> Sacred invention; then I must confirm
> Both your conceit and censure of her merit;
> But view her in her glorious ornaments,
> Attired in the majesty of art,
> Set high in spirit with the precious taste
> Of sweet philosophy; and, which is most,
> Crowned with the rich traditions of a soul
> That hates to have her dignity profaned
> With any relish of an earthly thought,
> Oh, then, how proud a presence doth she bear!"

The third and last is his just appeal to the modern reader as well as to him of old time:

> "Only vouchsafe me your attentions
> And I will give you music worth your ears."

That was Ben Jonson—and that was the spirit of the Elizabethan dramatists, men of learning and men of wit, who transfigured the English stage.

FRANCIS PAUL.

DECRETUM: CIRCA PROPONENDOS AD EPISCOPALE MINISTERIUM IN FOEDERATIS AMERICAE SEPTENTRIONALIS STATIBUS.

RATIO pro candidatis ad episcopale ministerium proponendis, quae in istis Foederatis Americae Statibus viget, quaeque *ternae* nomine venit, quamvis iteratis Baltimorensis Concilii studiis et S. Sedis provisionibus, melior sensim evaserit, praesentibus tamen Ecclesiae necessitatibus non videtur plene respondere.

San ein praesenti rerum statu, vacata aliqua sede, ut *ternae* propositio fiat, primum convenire debent dioecesani consultores et rectores inamovibiles, deinde provinciae Episcopi; quod si de Archiepiscopo deligendo res sit, singuli quoque Metropolitae audiri solent. Cum de maximi momenti negotio agatur, cautelae huiusmodi prudentissimae sunt; ast, ut id servetur, notabile tempus decurrat oportet.

Cum autem res demum deferenda sit ad eam Ecclesiam "ad quam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnes convenire ecclesias" iuxta celebre S. Irenaei effatum; nova mora et tarditas sedis episcopalis provisioni interponitur, ipsa fundamentali Ecclesiae lege id exigente. Summus enim Pontifex nonnisi re examinata, dubtis, si quae occurrant, diremptis, et idcirco saepenumero novis informationibus requisitis, sententiam ferre potest. Quod quidem si semper et ubique congruum temporis spatium requirit, in tanta locorum distantia et amplissima Foederatorum Americae Statuum republica vitari nullo modo potest.

Quibus de causis evenit ut vacationem dioecesum plus aequo, cum fidelium offensione, ecclesiasticae disciplinae et status dioecesani dispendio protrahantur.

His accedit haud consultum videri, tanti momenti rem, qua maior in Ecclesia vix esse potest, festinanter pertractari, urgente et impellente dumtaxat necessitate: dum e contra, quum dioecesum vacationem, etsi incertae tempore, certae tamen eventu sint, satius esset tempestive hoc agi, et in antecessum saltem generice Apostolicae Sedi nomina facere eorum quos Episcopi dignos et aptos pastorali munere censeant.

Quapropter ad haec aliaque non modica avertenda incommoda, de quibus alias iam sermo factus est; et ad consultius maiorique animi tranquillitate in re gravissima procedendum, visum est expedire ut nova aptior statuatur norma in proponendis Apostolicae Sedi candidatis ad Episcopale officium, iuxta id quod albi utiliter iam invectum erat.

Interrogatis autem prius hac de re singulis Statuum Foederatorum Americae Episcopis, cum constiterit eorum pars longe maior novae, disciplinae suffragari, alii nonnulli autem aliquas emendationes proponere, quas de consulto Emorum Patrum Sacrae huius Congregationis, et in quantum fas erat, Summus Pontifex admisit; omnibus mature perpensis, idem SSmus D. N. Benedictus PP. XV, hanc movam normam, seu legem in proponendis ad Episcopale officium sanxit et praesenti S. Congregationis Consistorialis decreto publicandam et promulgandam decrevit, iuxta articulos qui sequuntur:

1. Sub initium quadragesimae proximi anni 1917, et deinde *quolibet biennio,* eodem tempore, omnes et singuli Episcopi Metropolitano suo nomina indicabunt unius vel alterius sacerdotis, quem dignum et aptum episcopali ministerio existimabunt.

Nil vetat quominus sacerdotes extradioecesani et etiam alterius provinciae proponantur. Id tamen *sub gravi* exigitur, ut qui proponitur, personaliter et ex diuturna conversatione a proponente cognoscatur.

Una cum nomine aetatem quoque designabunt candidati, eius originis et actualis commorationis locum, et officium quod modo principaliter tenet.

2. Antequam tamen determinent quem proponant, tam Archiepiscopi quam Episcopi consultores dioecesanos et parochos inamovibiles rogabunt, eo modo qui infra statuitur, ut sacerdotem indicent aliquem, quem prae ceteris dignum et idoneum coram Domino censeant cui Christiani gregis custodia in aliqua dioecesi committatur.

Ast (*a*) interpellatio facienda erit consultoribus et parochis, non in conventu coadunatis, sed singulis singillatim, data unicuique *sub gravi* obligatione secreti, et sub lege destruendi, si quod intercessit hac de re, epistolare commercium.

(*b*) Episcopi autem habitum consilium nemini patefacient, nisi forte in Episcoporum conventu, de quo infra.

3. Poterunt quoque Episcopi alios prudentes viros, etiam e clero regulari tam pro proponendis candidatis quam pro cognoscendis alicuius qualitatibus interrogare; sed ad unguem servatis regulis superius sub *litt.* (*a*) et (*b*) *articuli* 2 recensitis.

4. Susceptum in utroque casu *art.* 2 et 3 consilium sequi possunt Episcopi, sed non tenentur, soli Deo rationem hac in re reddituri.

Nomina autem unius vel alterius sacerdotis quem Episcopi iuxta art. I^um^ proponent, nulli prorsus praeter quam Archiepiscopo patefacient.

5. Habita a Suffraganeis candidatorum indicatione, Archiepiscopus suos adiiciat; et omnium indicem ordine alphabetico conficiat,

reticitis tamen proponentibus, et hanc notulam transmitta singulis Suffraganeis, ut opportunas investigationes peragere valeant de qualitatibus eorum quos personaliter et certa scientia non cognoscant.

6. Investigationes vel etiam maiori secreti cautela peragendae erunt, ac supra num. 3 dictum est. Poterunt autem Episcopi investigationum causam reticere et caute prudenter celare. Quod si vereantur rem palam evasuram, ab ulterioribus inquisitionibus abstineant.

7. Post Pascham, die et loco ab Archiepiscopo determinandis, omnes Provinciae Episcopi una cum Metropolitano suo convenient ad selectionem eorum qui S. Sedi ad episcopale ministerium proponendi erunt.

Convenient autem absque ulla solemnitate, quasi ad familiarem congressum, ut attentio quaelibet, praesertim diariorum et ephemeridum, et curiositatis studium vitetur.

8. In conventu, invocato divino auxilio, praestandum erit a singulis, Archiepiscopo non excepto, tactis SS. Evangeliis, iusiurandum de secreto servando, ut sacratius fiat vinculum quo omnes adstringuntur: et regulae ad electionem faciendam legendae erunt.

9. Deinde unus ex Episcopis praesentibus in Secretarium eligetur.

10. Quo facto, moderata disceptatio fiet, ut inter tot exhibitos digniores et aptiores seligantur. Veluti Christo ipso praesente et sub eius obtutu, omni humana consideratione postposita, cum discretione tamen et caritate, supremo Ecclesiae bono, divina gloria et animarum salute unice ob oculos habitis, discussionem fieri omniaque agi, gravitas ipsa negotii apprime exigit. Idque faciendum perspecta omnium Praesulum pietas ac religio prorsus exigunt.

11. Candidati maturae sed non nimium provectae aetatis esse debent; prudentia praediti in agendis, quae sit ex ministeriis exercitis comprobata; sanissima et non communi doctrina exornati, et cum debita erga. Apostolicam Sedem devotione coniuncta; maxime autem honestate vitae et pietate insignes.

Attendendum quoque est ad capacitatem candidati in temporali bonorum administratione, ad conditionem eius familiarem, ad eius indolem et valetudinem. Uno verbo videndum utrum omnibus iis qualitatibus polleat, quae in optimo pastore requiruntur, ut cum fructu et aedificatione populum Dei regere queat.

12. Discussione Archiepiscopi nutu clausa, fiet hac ratione scrutinium:

(*a*) Qui omnium Episcoporum consensu, una aliave de causa, durante disceptatione visi sunt ex albo proponendorum expungendi,

in suffragium non vocabuntur: ceteri, etiam probatissimi, vocabuntur.

(*b*) Scrutinium fiat de singulis per secreta suffragia, incipiendo a primo ex candidatis ordine alphabetico.

(*c*) Omnes Episcopi, ipso Metropolitano comprehenso, pro singulis candidatis tribus taxillis seu calculis donabuntur, uno albo, altero nigro, tertio alterius cuiusdam coloris. Primus signum erit approbationis, alter reprobationis, tertius abstensionis a sententia ferenda, qualibet demum de causa.

(*d*) Singuli Praelati incipiendo ab Archiepiscopo in urna apte disposita taxillum deponent quem coram Deo, graviter onerata eorum conscientia, iustum aestimabunt pro sacerdote qui in suffragium vocatur: ceteri duo taxilli in alia urna pariter secreta deponentur.

(*e*) Datis ab omnibus suffragiis, Archiepiscopus cum adsistentia Episcopi Secretarii coram omnibus taxillos et eorum speciem numerabit, et resultantia scripto consignabit.

13. Scrutinio de omnibus expleto, liberum erit Episcopis, si id ipsis placeat, aut aliquis eorum postulet, ut inter approbatos plenis aut paribus suffragiis novo scrutinio designetur quinam ex eis praeferendus sit. Ad hunc finem autem singuli Praelati nomen praeferendi in schedula signabunt, eamque in urna deponent: quae examinabuntur ut supra num. 11, litt. *e*, decernitur.

14. Quamvis autem SSmus Dominus Noster sibi reservet, aliqua dioecesi vel archidioecesi vacata, per Rmum Delegatum Apostolicum, aut alio modo, opportuna consilia ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis requirere ut personam eligat quae inter approbatas magis idonea videatur dioecesi illi regendae; nihilominus fas erit Episcopis, imo bonum erit, si ipsi in eodem conventu alquas saltem generales indicationes praebeant cuinam dioecesi regendae candidatos magis idoneos censeant, e. g. utrum parvae, ordinatae et tranquillae dioecesi, an etiam maioris momenti, vel in qua plura sint ordinanda et creanda; utrum dioecesi mitioris climatis et in planitie positae, an alterius generis, et similia.

15. Episcopus a secretis durante discussione diligenter adnotabit quae de singulis a singulis Praelatis dicentur: quaenam discussionis fuerit conclusio: denique quidam tum in primo scrutinio tum in secundo (si fiat) exitus fuerit et quidnam specialius iuxta articulum 14^{um} fuerit dictum.

16. Antequam Episcopi discedant legenda erit, ut probetur, relatio a Revmo Secretario confecta circa nomina proposita, candidatorum qualitates et obtenta suffragia.

17. Actorum exemplar ab Archiepiscopo, a Praesule a secretis et a ceteris Episcopis praesentibus subsignatum quam tutissime ad

Sacram hanc Congregationem per Delegatum Apostolicum mittetur. Acta vero ipsa penes Archiepiscopum in Archivo secretissimo S. Officii servabuntur, destruenda tamen post annum vel etiam prius, si periculum violationis secreti immineat.

18. Fas quoque erit Episcopis, tum occasione propositionis candidati tum vacata aliqua Sede, praesertim maioris momenti, litteras S. H. C. vel ipsi SSmo Domino dirigere, quibus mentem suam circa personarum qualitates sive in se sive in relatione ad provisionem dictae Sedis patefaciant.

Praesentibus valituris, contrariis quibuslibet etiam peculiari mentione dignis minime obstantibus et ad nutum Apostolicae Sedis.

Datum Romae, die 25 iulii 1916.

C. Card. De Lai, Episc. Sabinen, *Secretarius.*

L. * S.

Thomas Boggiani, Archiep. Edessen., *Adsessor.*

DECREE ON METHOD OF SELECTING BISHOPS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE manner of proposing candidates for the episcopal ministry, which exists in the United States of America, and which is called the terna does not appear to fully meet the present exigencies of the Church, notwithstanding the reiterated care of the Council of Baltimore and the provisions made by the Holy See.

For in the present state of things, when a diocese becomes vacant, in order that a terna may be put forward the diocesan consultors and the irremovable rectors must first hold a meeting, and then the Bishops of the province; but if there be question of electing an Archbishop, it is the custom that each of the Metropolitans be asked his opinion. Since the matter is of the greatest importance, the caution observed is very great. But all this involves a notable lapse of time—since the matter must be finally deferred to the Church "to which on account of its more powerful preëminence all churches must come" according to the celebrated saying of S. Irenæus; but this means a fresh delay and obstacle to the filling of the episcopal see, as the very fundamental law of the Church demands. For the Supreme Pontiff can give his decision only when the matter is examined, when doubts, if any, arise, are solved, and when fresh information in many cases has been sought. If this requires always and everywhere a reasonable time, it cannot by any means be avoided considering the distances between places and the great vastness of the Republic of the United States of America.

Hence it has come to pass that vacancies of dioceses are protracted more than they ought to be to the injury of the faithful and to the detriment of ecclesiastical discipline and the well-being of the diocese. Add to this that it seems quite undesirable that a matter of such moment, so great indeed that there can be hardly a greater than it in the Church, is considered in haste under the pressure of great necessity; while, on the other hand, since diocesan vacancies, though uncertain as to time, must happen some day, it would be quite sufficient to take timely steps and to make known beforehand to the Holy See, at least in a general way, the names of those whom the Bishops consider fit and worthy of the pastoral office.

Wherefore, to avoid these and other inconveniences of no small moment, of which mention has been already made elsewhere, and to proceed more deliberately and with greater tranquillity of mind in so grave a matter, it has seemed well that a new and more ap-

propriate rule should be established in proposing to the Apostolic See candidates for the episcopal office, like to that which has been profitably introduced elsewhere.

Since on each of the Bishops of the United States of America being interrogated on the matter, by far the greater number of them agreed to vote for a new regulation, and others to propose some emendations, which after consulting with the most eminent Fathers of this S. Congregation, and as far as it was lawful, the Supreme Pontiff admitted; all things were naturally weighed and Our Most Lord Benedict XV. sanctioned this new rule or law for proposing candidates to the episcopal office, and ordered it to be published and promulgated by the present decree of the S. Consistorial Congregation according to the following articles:

1. At the beginning of Lent of next year, 1917, and afterwards every two years, at the same time, each and every one of the Bishops will indicate to their Metropolitan the name of one or two priests whom they consider worthy and fit for the episcopal ministry.

There is no prohibition against priests of another diocese or even of another province being proposed. But it exacted sub gravi that he who is proposed be known personally and by daily intercourse to the proposer. Together with his name and age they will, also designate his original and actual place of residence, and the office which he holds chiefly.

2. But before they decide upon whom to propose, both the Archbishops and Bishops will ask the diocesan consultors and irremovable pastors, in the manner stated further down, to indicate some priest whom among others they deem worthy and fit in the sight of God as one to whom the custody of the Christian flock in any diocese may be committed.

But (a) the consultors and parish priests are to be interrogated not in a body, but one by one, the obligation of secrecy sub gravi is to be imposed on each one, and under the law of destroying any communication by letter that might take place.

(b) And the Bishops will make known to nobody the advice received, about which more below.

3. Bishops may interrogate also other prudent men, even from the regular clergy, both for the purpose of proposing candidates and to know the qualities of some one; but the rules given in (a) and (b) are to be observed to the letter.

4. The Bishops can follow the counsel received in articles 2 and 3, but they are not bound to do so; to God alone they will render an account in this.

To no one directly except an Archbishop may the Bishops make

known the names of the one or two priests whom the Bishops propose according to article 1.

5. When the Archbishop has received the names of suffragans, he will add his own; and he will arrange an index of all in alphabetical order, suppressing the names of the proposers, and he will transmit a note of it to each suffragan, so that they may be able to make opportune investigations about the qualities of those whom they do not know personally and from certain knowledge.

6. Investigations should be made with great caution for the sake of secrecy. But Bishops could keep silent as to the cause of their investigations and conceal it cautiously and prudently. But if they fear the thing might become public, let them abstain from further inquiries.

7. After Easter, on a day and at a place to be fixed by the Archbishop, all Bishops of the province will meet with their Metropolitan for the selection of those who are to be proposed to the Holy See for the episcopal ministry.

They are to meet without any solemnity, almost as at a family gathering, so that all attention, especially of newspapers or periodicals and curiosity, may be avoided.

8. At the meeting, after invoking the divine aid, the oath of secrecy is to be administered to each, touching the Sacred Gospel, not excepting the Archbishop, so that the tie binding all may be made more sacred, and the rules for holding the election are to be read.

9. Then one of the Bishops present will be chosen as secretary.

10. This done, let a discussion of moderate length be held that from those candidates proposed the more worthy and fit may be chosen. The very gravity of the matter demands, above all, that the discussion be held and everything be done just as if Christ Himself were present, every human consideration being laid aside, nevertheless with discretion and charity, the supreme good of the Church, the divine glory and salvation of souls alone being before their eyes. To do this the well-known piety and religious sense of all the prelates are needed.

11. Candidates should be of mature, but not far advanced in age; endowed with prudence in management, which may be proved from their exercise of the ministry, equipped with the soundest and no mediocre learning, joined with due devotion to the Apostolic See; but above all, distinguished for integrity of life and piety.

Attention is also to be paid to the candidate's capacity for the administration of temporal goods, to the condition of his family, to his temperament and health. In a word, let it be evident whether he possesses all these qualities, which are required in an excellent

pastor in order that he can with fruit and edification rule God's people.

12. The discussion being closed by the Archbishop, the scrutiny will be carried out in this way:

(a) Those who by the consensus of all the Bishops, for one reason or another, were seen during the discussion deserving of being struck off the list of candidates will not be called out. The others, especially those most approved of, will be called out.

(b) The scrutiny will be carried on regarding each one by secret voting, beginning from the first candidate in alphabetical order.

(c) All the Bishops, including the Metropolitan, will be given for each candidate three dies or balls, one white, one black and a third of any other color. The first will be a sign of approbation, the second of reprobation, the third of abstention from giving an opinion, for any cause whatever.

(d) Each prelate, beginning with the Archbishops, will place in a suitable urn a ball which before God, with a grave obligation on their conscience, they consider just in the case of the priest whose case is being voted upon. The two other balls will be placed in another urn, likewise secretly.

(e) The votes being given by all, the Archbishops, assisted by the Bishop-secretary, will in presence of all, count the balls and their kind, and he will commit the result to paper.

13. The scrutiny in all cases being finished, the Bishops are free, if they wish, or if any of them asks, that among those approved of by full or by equal votes a certain one should be designated by a fresh scrutiny as being preferred. To this end each prelate will write on a slip of paper the name of his choice, and place it in the urn. These will be examined as laid down in article 12.

14. Though Our Most Holy Lord reserves to himself, on a vacancy occurring in any diocese or archdiocese to ask, through the Apostolic Delegate, or in any other way, opportune advice from the Bishops or the Archbishops, so that he may choose a person who may appear more suitable among those approved of to rule the diocese, still it will be lawful, even laudable, for the Bishops if in the same meeting they give some general indications as to what kind of a diocese they consider candidates more suitable to rule, e. g., whether small, regulated and tranquil dioceses, or one of greater importance, or in one in which many things must be regulated and created; whether in a diocese of a more temperate climate and placed in a plain or one of another kind, and so on.

15. The episcopal secretary will diligently note during the discussion what had been said about each one by each prelate; what had been the conclusion of the discussion; and next what had been

the result both in the first and second scrutiny (if one takes place), and what of a more special kind had been said concerning article 14.

16. Before the Bishops depart let the report made by the Right Rev. Secretary be read, that it may be tested, about the names approved of, the qualities of the candidates and the votes obtained.

17. A copy of the records signed by the Archbishop, by the episcopal-secretary and by the other Bishops will be sent as safely as possible through the Apostolic Delegate to this S. Congregation. But the records themselves in the possession of the Archbishop will be preserved in the secret archives of the Holy office, to be destroyed nevertheless, after a year or even previously, if danger of the violation of the secret be imminent.

18. It will be lawful also for the Bishops, both on the occasion of the proposing of a candidate and on any see falling vacant, to direct letters S. H. G., or to the Holy Father himself, in which they may lay open their mind about the qualities of the persons either in themselves or in relation to provision for the said see.

The present regulations hold good, all things to the contrary notwithstanding, even those worthy of special mention, and according to the pleasure of the Apostolic See.

Given at Rome, July 25, 1916.

C. Card. de Lai, Bishop of Sabine, *Secretary.*

Thomas Boggiani, Archbishop of Edessa, *Assessor.*

Book Reviews

CUPID OF CAMPION. By *Rev. Francis J. Finn, S. J.* 12mo., cloth, 242 pages, size 4⅞ by 7½ inches, with frontispiece and illustrated jacket. 85 cents retail, 68 cents net to priests and religious. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Finn, the "discoverer of the American Catholic boy," whose stories are the most popular juveniles in our literature, here enters a new field—the field of adventure. Those critics to whom the manuscript has been submitted consider it the most fascinating tale from Father Finn's pen. The story is healthy and thrilling and breathes the air of romance. Its scenery—the upper Mississippi and the neighborhood about Prairie du Chien, where Father Finn spent three successive summers—has given the author's pen new inspiration. Adventure, wit, humor are in "Cupid of Campion," as in the author's other books, but raised to a new plane by romance. There is a hero, of course, and a most lovable heroine. It is truly predicted that "Cupid of Campion" will outsell all Father Finn's previous successes. "Father Finn has quaffed of the fountain of perpetual youth and years have not robbed him of that buoyancy of spirit and mirth of heart which are the charm of all he writes. He has a secret of his own, an art which is incommunicable and which wins its way straight to the heart of the reader. Years have only brought with them a deeper sympathy, a broader vision and a richer fund of personal experience. His humor throughout is gentle and his pen contagious. His grasp on the realities of life is sure and firm, and he teaches a better social lesson than can be learned from crowded shelves of problem stories and 'uplift' essays, with Christianity eliminated. But the finest quality in his works is the deeply religious influence of all he writes." The ability to write for boys is rare and it is hard to define. It is not easily recognized by elder persons. Boys say Father Finn has it.

THE HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: Saintly Men and Women of Our Own Times. By *Rev. Constantine Kempf, S. J.* From the German by Rev. Francis Breymann, S. J. 8vo., cloth, net, $1.75. (Postage, 15 cents extra.) New York: Benziger Brothers.

To prove the consoling truth that the Church of our own times is as prolific of saints as she was in the ages that are past is the purpose of this work. The volume confines itself to those servants of God who lived in the nineteenth century. It shows that the cen-

tury which, animated by a fanatical hatred of Rome, has made use of all the power of politics, of art and science, of all the acquisitions of modern culture, as weapons against the Church, is nevertheless not inferior to any preceding age in the number and greatness of its saints. The author gives a brief review of the lives of those particularly whose process of beatification has been already finished or is in actual progress. A feature of the work which will commend it particularly is its up-to-dateness. The author has made use of the list compiled in 1909 by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, showing all the processes then in progress before it. The reader will find the sketches entertainingly written and full of interesting details of the lives of the servants of God. For those who desire to follow up the life of any particular individual in greater detail, a copious bibliography is furnished. The subjects treated are grouped under the following heads: Holy Bishops; Holy Secular Priests; Holy Religious—Men; Holy Religious—Women; Holy Laymen and Women; The Martyrs. This is a splendid proof of the holiness of the Church, and the book has a real permanent value.

THE SUNDAY MISSAL. For all the Sundays and the principal feasts of the year, with Introduction, Notes and a Complete Book of Prayer. By *Rev. F. X. Lasance*, author of "My Prayer Book," etc.; pp. 675; 32mo., 5¼ by 3⅜. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Father Lasance's "The New Missal" for every day in the year was an extraordinary success from the start, and all that has been said in favor of it can be said of "The Sunday Missal," because it has all its successful features. It took several years to make "The New Missal" for every day. "The Sunday Missal" was planned at the same time, and when "The New Missal" for every day was finished, the plan had been given to "The Sunday Missal," and the successful features of the one became the successful features of the other. The popular Introduction, the Explanatory Notes and the Directions of Father Lasance make "The Sunday Missal" the prayer-book that can be easily used by everybody. The combination of "The Sunday Missal" with a complete prayer-book, containing all the usual devotions, will make it the prayer-book favored by all. It is intended to take the place of the ordinary prayer-book —to be the prayer-book that every one will use. The type is much heavier than that generally used in prayer-books and has proven a great success. For the great majority of Catholics who cannot be present at Mass except on Sundays and holy days, it is a Missal which is the best Mass book.

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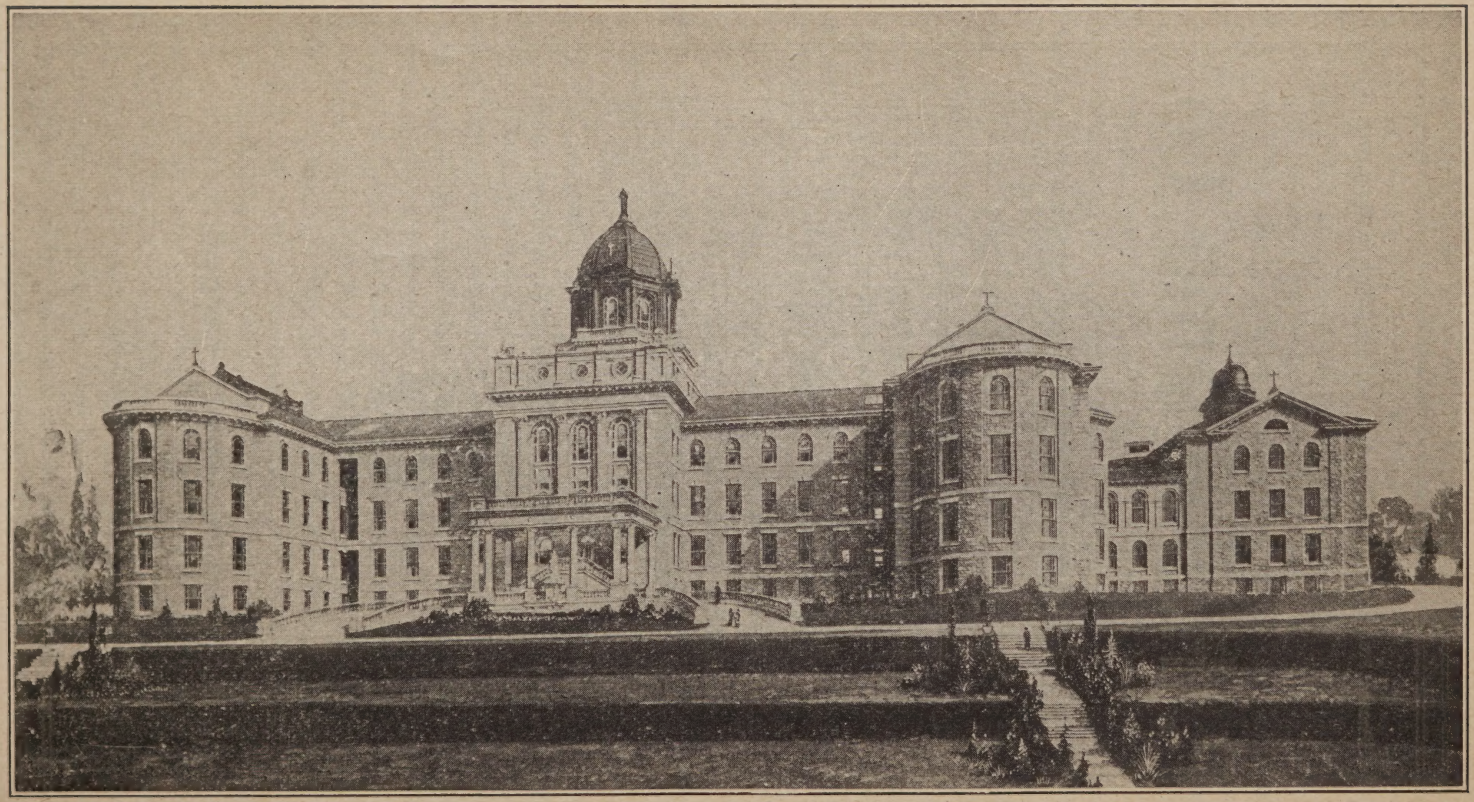

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